WAKAYAMA RYŪ EDO BAYASHI IN THE UNITED STATES:

INTERCULTURAL HISTORY, TRANSMISSION, AUTHENTICITY,

AND RELATIONSHIP WITH CONTEMPORARY TAIKO

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Abstract

This thesis explores the history and significance of *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi* as it relates to the broader musical performance art of taiko. *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi*, or simply referred to as *Edo Bayashi*, is a musical repertoire of festival music that is taught and performed by the *Wakayama Ryū*, a school of traditional folk performing arts based in the *shitamachi* area of Tokyo. By examining the historical connections between practitioners of *Edo Bayashi* and the modern genre of *kumidaiko*, this thesis outlines the pathways that led to the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States and constructs an intercultural history of the music. Furthermore, the musical impact of *Edo Bayashi* on other taiko music is discussed through the analysis of taiko compositions that have borrowed musical materials from *Edo Bayashi.* Finally, this thesis examines the significance of the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States by exploring the theoretical possibilities that *Edo Bayashi* poses to the field of ethnomusicology via discourses of authenticity, nostalgia, and identity.

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Conventions

Japanese Transliterations

Throughout this thesis, I will be adhering to the Modified Hepburn system for the romanization of Japanese words. The first appearance of Japanese terms and names in the main chapters of this thesis will be followed by the written Japanese in parentheses for clarity. All Japanese language terms will be italicized throughout this thesis with these exceptions: terms that have become commonplace in the English language, musical titles, defined locations, and group names. For words that have become commonplace in the English language with a pre-existing accepted romanization, I have chosen to maintain these English spellings (for example, the name of the capital city of Japan will be written as "Tokyo" instead of "Tōkyō," and the indigenous religion of Japan will be written as "Shinto" instead of "*Shintō*"). The only exception to these rules is the word "taiko," for reasons provided in section 1.2.1. If a Japanese name has an officially recognized English name, the English name will be given (for example, "Asakusa International Theater" instead of "*Asakusa Kokusai Gekijō*").

Name Order

Due to the inclusion of Japanese citizens, United States citizens, and multinational citizens in this thesis, I have chosen to present names of people in the order of personal name – family name for the sake of clarity, as it is more commonly found in the language of this thesis. Individuals who share the same family name in this these will always be given both personal and last name for the sake of clarity.

Individuals with Multiple Names

It is common for performers of Japanese traditional performing arts to have one or more stage names. In many cases, these names have changed several times over the course of the individual's career. In order to maintain clarity in the writing, I have chosen to present the individual's legal name, which may be followed by their stage name in parentheses if it is relevant to the discussion and helps with clarification. The stage name presented in parentheses will be the stage name that is contemporary to the historical context of the discussion.

Chapter 1

Introduction

All across Japan, there are a variety of regional and local Shinto festivals being held throughout the year. These Shinto festivals are known as *matsuri* (祭) and are a pervasive part of contemporary Japanese life. "*Matsuri*" has historically referred to the Shinto festivals which have traditionally been held as a part of the religious rituals and celebrations of a local shrine.[1] For many local communities, attending or participating in a *matsuri* provides an opportunity to experience a connection with a more traditionally Japanese lifestyle which has been diminished by modernity. Some *matsuri* have maintained traditional practices in which the activities and events of the *matsuri* are accompanied by musical ensembles known as *hayashi* (囃子). "*Hayashi*" is a general term for a percussion ensemble which may also include a melodic instrument, most commonly flutes. They can be found in a variety of contexts, such as the classical theatre genres of *noh* (能) and *kabuki* (歌舞伎). When *hayashi* perform for the *matsuri*, the music that they play is generally referred to as *matsuri-bayashi* (祭囃子). Unlike the *hayashi* of the theatre genres, *matsuri-bayashi* is often unique to the *matsuri* that it accompanies and its musical practices are just as diverse as the practices of *matsuri* themselves.

One of Japan's most well-known and heavily attended *matsuri* is the *Sanja Matsuri* (三社祭), hosted annually during the third weekend in May by the Asakusa Shrine in Tokyo. Like many other large *matsuri* held in large cities, the *Sanja Matsuri* hosts numerous *matsuri-bayashi*

[1] In recent years, the term "*matsuri*" has come to be applied to newly created activities that are often secular in nature. These newer *matsuri* are not included in the usage of "*matsuri*" throughout this thesis.

groups, with each performer contributing to the diverse yet idiomatic soundscape that can be recognized by the locals. Yet among the variety of unique *matsuri-bayashi* groups and their music, *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi* (若山流江戸囃子), or simply *Edo Bayashi* (江戸囃子),[2] has stood out from the rest and its practice has become increasingly observable in the United States.

Since the 1990s, there has been a growing number of taiko practitioners in the United States studying *Edo Bayashi*. Although there have been instances of the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States prior to the 1990s by scholars such as William Malm, these practices remained within the university context and have seemingly expired with no evidence showing a connection to its recent popularity. Given this observation, I argue that it was not until *Edo Bayashi* garnered the attention of taiko performers that it was able to gain traction for transmission in the United States. For these reasons, this thesis also examines the development of taiko performance and its relationship with *Edo Bayashi* in both Japan and the United States, providing the sociohistorical context needed to trace the pathways of transmission that allowed for the proliferation of *Edo Bayashi.*

As a generalization, the term "taiko performance" can refer to a wide array of musical genres and performing styles which feature the use of drums and percussion instruments native to Japan.[3] With the capacity to perform loud sounds along with exciting visuals, taiko performance has quickly become one of Japan's most popular and recognizable performing artforms with a growing international community of practitioners. Beginning in the 1950s, the creation of a new style of ensemble drumming known as *kumidaiko* (組太鼓) paved the way for

[2] Throughout this thesis, all mentions of *Edo Bayashi* strictly refer to *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi* and should not to be confused with *Edo matsuri-bayashi*. See section 1.2.1 for details regarding this distinction.
[3] Issues regarding the English usages of "taiko" and other closely related terms are discussed in greater detail later in the chapter (see section 1.2.2).

the international recognition of taiko performance as a whole and led to the rise in its popularity. Of the pioneering *kumidaiko* groups, Sukeroku Taiko (助六太鼓) is widely regarded as the first professional group which also arguably had the largest impact on the early development of *kumidaiko* in the United States.

The significance of Sukeroku Taiko's role in the development of *kumidaiko* has already been discussed by other scholars such as Kenny Endo (1999), Shawn Bender (2012), Hitoshi Mogi (2010), and Benjamin Pachter (2013). Furthermore, the connections between *Edo Bayashi*, Sukeroku Taiko, and modern taiko performance, have also been mentioned in earlier taiko scholarship.[4] However, most of the existing literature has only acknowledged that such a connection exists, with very few details provided on the exact nature of this connection. The one exception to this is Pachter's 2013 dissertation, in which he has provided musical analyses to evidence the influence of *Edo Bayashi* on *kumidaiko* compositions. Yet, the broad scope and focus of Pachter's dissertation on *kumidaiko* lacks an in-depth examination of *Edo Bayashi*, which has left unanswered questions regarding the history, significance, and theoretical implications, of *Edo Bayashi* in the United States. Therefore, this thesis seeks to provide answers to these questions which have been overlooked by previous scholars by providing new perspectives that highlight the significance of Sukeroku Taiko's role in the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States.

I argue that the study of *Edo Bayashi* and its inclusion under the umbrella concept of taiko, as well as the borrowing of its musical contents in newly created taiko compositions, helps

[4] See section 1.1.3 for an overview of existing taiko scholarship.

to reintroduce the idea of traditional authenticity[5] to taiko performance in the United States. Additionally, the growing interest in the study of *Edo Bayashi* by taiko practitioners in the United States is fueled by a desire to satisfy a need to re-discover a sense traditional authenticity that is lacking within taiko performance, which has been caused by a growing awareness towards taiko performance as a modern artform and not the "traditional Japanese drumming" it was once thought to be.

In order to prove the overall argument of this thesis, I have divided the argument into three sections. Beginning in chapter two, I discuss ways in which traditional authenticity for *Edo Bayashi* can be legitimated within the context of Japan. This is done by analyzing the history of the music and its context, challenging conventional definitions used in the classifications of Japanese performing arts, and constructing a theoretical framework to broaden the scope of its applicability from local to national. In chapter three, I construct an intercultural history of *Edo Bayashi* by examining the relationships that enabled the pathway of transmission leading to the United States. In doing so, I also begin to map this intricate network of relationships beginning with the formation of Sukeroku Taiko in the late 1960s, which I have chosen to call the "*Shitamachi* network." Finally, in chapter four, I examine the musical practices of *Edo Bayashi* and identify ways the music has impacted the creation of new taiko music in the United States. Furthermore, I suggest what the musical influences that have been identified may imply for the broader discourse of authenticity within taiko overall.

[5] See Chapter 2 introduction for a definition of traditional authenticity.

1.1 Theoretical Issues and Literature Review

1.1.1 Anthropological Studies and Japan Studies

As the only predominantly non-white nation to have challenged western dominance on a global scale during the Pacific War, Japan has historically been the object of interest by Western scholars. Early scholarship has often perpetuated the exoticized views of an ethnically and culturally homogenous group of people neatly packaged within its geographic boundaries as an island nation. Additionally, this supposed homogeneity has allowed for the structuring of a social order with such efficiency, enabling rapid modernization, thus contributing to the label of Japan as the great assimilator of culture. These views of Japan constructed vis-a-vis the West has also been reflected by Japanese scholars, as evidenced by the vast literary genre of *nihonjinron* (日本人論 "theories/discussions about the Japanese"), lending credence to the uniqueness of Japan (e.g. Dale 1986, Mouer and Sugimoto 1986, Befu 1987, Yoshino 1992). These generalizations and assumptions about Japan continue to be popular outside of academe and contribute to the constructions of Japanese cultural identity.

Despite the continued popularity of these perspectives on Japan, there has been scholarship produced by both Western and Japanese academics that have provided new theoretical approaches, which has served to subvert these essentialist views. Benedict Anderson's analysis of nationalism and identity through his theory of "imagined communities" has proved fruitful for the social and political sciences, and especially useful in deconstructing the homogeneity of Japan (Anderson 1983). Arjun Appadurai has also expanded upon this in his theories on globalization and cultural flow, with ideas such as "imagined worlds" (Appadurai 1996). These scholars have been influential on subsequent scholarship and my general

understanding of cultural theory, serving as a foundation of the theoretical framework for examining cultural identity and transmission. The contemporary discourse of globalization has broad applications beyond the scope of this research, yet its influences on other subjects of academe can not be overlooked.

Like many other subjects, nostalgia has gained attention as a reaction to the anxieties felt toward the possibilities of global cultural homogenization, and has been particularly influential in the study of Japan. The term nostalgia has lost its historical usage and has started to take the metaphorical meaning of longing for a lost place and time (Ange and Berliner 2014:2). Nostalgia reaches beyond an individual's memory and evokes the imagination of a culture's simple and traditional past, often reifying its past through romantic or idealized reimaginations.

The discourse of nostalgia is prevalent among the books and articles by Japan scholars, serving as the framework of this thesis for examining identity within Japan. Many of these have examined national and local identity constructions of post-WWII Japan through various contexts. Jennifer Robertson's discussion of nostalgia through *furusato* has influenced subsequent scholarship of Japan, including Millie Crieghton's expansion into *shin-furusato* and global *furusato*, both of which have informed my framework for examining the reimagination of traditional practices and identity in Japan (Robertson 1988, Creighton 2002). Dorinne Kondo's analysis of *Shitamachi* identity in her book *Crafting Selves,* has been an invaluable reference for its direct relevance to my subjects of ethnomusicological study (Kondo 1990). Marilyn Ivy's book *Discourses of the Vanishing* has shaped my broader understanding of modern Japanese national identity through its discussion of the anxieties felt toward the loss of traditional continuity and its relationship to sites of cultural practices (Ivy 1995). Koichi Iwabuchi's book

Recentering Globalization has also been influential in my understanding of the history of Japanese national identity construction, Japan in the context of globalization, as well as discourses of authenticity and hybridity within Japanese culture (Iwabuchi 2002). I was first introduced to many of these works by Christine Yano, who has largely shaped my understanding of the anthropology of Japan. Her book *Tears of Longing* discusses the function of nostalgia in Japanese national identity formation through an analysis of *kata* in the musical genre of *enka* (Yano 2002). All of these works have served as the primary influences for framing the cultural authenticity of *Edo Bayashi* in the context of Japan, as discussed in greater detail in chapter two.

1.1.2 Ethnomusicological Studies

Benjamin Pachter in his Ph.D. dissertation published in 2013 has been particularly influential on this thesis, not only because of the commonality of the topic of taiko, but also for serving as a model for the construction of a history of intercultural music by synthesizing the methodologies of historical ethnomusicology with Mark Slobin's writings on intercultural music (Pachter 2013, Slobin 1992). Scholars such as Kay Kaufman Shelemay have popularized the term historical ethnomusicology to describe a methodology which uses "the insights gained through studies of living music cultures to better understand their pasts" (Shelemay 1980:233). Ruth Stone adds that "historical treatments provide an expanded context in which to understand present-day performance" (Stone 2008:186).

However, historical ethnomusicology has not been without its criticisms. Richard Widdess notes that many projects have been influenced by historical musicology as evidenced by

the emphasis on "philology and on literary and textual criticism" (Widdess 1992:221). An additional issue, likely of greater concern for many, is how constructing a written history focusing on outstanding individuals risks canonizing the history of the music culture and marginalizing the lesser known individuals, as observed in the history of Western art music. As noble as it may seem to prevent this from happening, it is arguably impossible to avoid the process of canonization, as Antti-Ville Kärjä has written in his discussion of popular music that there is an "inevitable link between historiography and partaking in canon formation" (Kärjä 2006:6). Despite knowingly contributing to the canonization of history, I have chosen to include my approach to the history of these artforms and of their practitioners, as I believe that they provide new knowledge and insights on the past and the present. Furthermore, in order to avoid the criticisms of historical ethnomusicology as acknowledged by scholars like Widdess, I have made an effort to supplement this historical approach with musical transcription/analysis as well as new information provided by fieldwork.

Mark Slobin has proposed the idea of "micromusics," or "the small units within big music cultures," and offers three types of culture that operate within these micromusics (1993:11). These main categories are subculture, superculture, and interculture, which can be further divided into types (Slobin 1993). Pachter has borrowed the ideas of subculture and interculture and applied them to his construction on the history of taiko, with an emphasis on interculture (Pachter 2013). In much the same way, I have modeled the intercultural history of *Edo Bayashi* in a manner that can be understood through intercultural history of taiko as provided by Pachter.

1.1.3 Taiko Studies

Although there has been a growing interest in the ethnomusicological study of taiko, a majority of the English-language scholarly literature has come from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, often with an emphasis on the discourse of identity within the scope of North America.[6] Susan Asai's study of Buddhism and Taiko in the United States published in 1985 is one of the earliest examples of academic interest in taiko, with some of her later work also focused primarily on the Japanese-American diaspora (Asai 1985; 1995). Many more works expand from Japanese-American diasporic identity to discuss Asian American identity in relation to taiko (e.g. Terada 2001; Yoon 2001; Powell 2008). In addition to this, there are also works which include a focus on gender and sexuality in taiko (e.g. Wong 2000; Carle 2008; Ahlgren 2016; 2018). These works are broader in scope than such generalizations may imply, with many intersections of the subjects examined.

However, there are also a variety of English-language studies of taiko beyond the scope of identity in North America. There are several publications that have studied identity within the context of Japan. Yoshitaka Terada, in addition to writing about North American identity, has also written about minority identity expression in Japan through the study of Buraku performers (Terada 2008). Millie Creighton has written about performing Japanese identity and its relationship to the issues of globalization through the study of Kodo, and as mentioned previously, she has expanded upon Kondo's study of *furusato* through its application to taiko

[6]The United States and Canada are often grouped together as North America, as exemplified the usage of labels like the North American Taiko Community. However, this largely excludes Mexico and the Central American countries. This is likely due to the shared language of English as well as the prevalence of taiko groups in these two countries.

(Creighton 2007). Jennifer Milioto Matsue also provides how Japanese cultural identity is negotiated through taiko performance as it relates to globalization and sociopolitical history by examining four case studies of taiko groups in Kyoto (Milioto Matsue 2016).

There are scholarly works outside of the focus on identity as well, although identity seldom goes unmentioned. Anthropologist Shawn Bender's publication of *Taiko Boom* in 2012 is the first academic book in the English-language to broadly examine the historical development of *kumidaiko* in Japan (Bender 2012). His research includes his personal accounts of studying taiko in Japan while apprenticing for several famous taiko groups, as well as an extensive study of Japanese-language sources. Although the breadth and depth of the subjects covered are invaluable, the greatest significance of Bender's book is that it established a major intersection between Japanese-language and English-language scholarship of taiko. By citing numerous Japanese-language sources and providing accessibility to them in English text, the book has been influential on many subsequent English-language taiko scholars. Of these sources, Hitoshi Mogi's 2010 article in the *Taikology* series published by Asano Taiko has been particularly influential on chapter three (Mogi 2010). Benjamin Pachter's 2013 dissertation expands upon Bender's book by broadening the scope to examine the development of *kumidaiko* between Japan and the United States to create an intercultural history of *kumidaiko* (Pachter 2013). Pachter's dissertation is also one of only a few ethnomusicological studies that examines the music of taiko rather than emphasizing the social context. Similarly, Kenny Endo's 1999 master's thesis on Yodan Uchi is still one of the most comprehensive studies of a single *kumidaiko* composition (Endo 1999). Milioto Matsue wrote a later article on how taiko challenges our understanding of genre (Milioto Matsue 2016). Other notable taiko scholarship

outside of the focus of identity studies include Linda Fujie's 2001 article discussing the international spread of taiko through staged performances (Fujie 2001) and Hugh De Ferranti's 2006 article on how professional taiko music is marketed in Australia (De Ferranti 2006).

Surveying these earlier works shows that a majority of the scholarship on taiko has been written within the last two decades. Aside from scholarly writings, there is an abundance of writings and audiovisual sources that provide a wealth of information about taiko. Given the growing popularity of taiko by practitioners all around the world and the general enthusiasm towards the study of subjects such as identity and globalization, it is presumable that taiko scholarship will continue continue to proliferate.

1.1.4 *Edo Bayashi* and *Matsuri-bayashi* Related Studies

By contrast, there are very few scholarly works that focus on the subject of *matsuri-bayashi*, and even fewer sources that discuss *Edo Bayashi* in particular. A handful of the taiko studies in the above section mention these subjects, showing that there is at least an awareness regarding *matsuri-bayashi* and its relationship to taiko overall. However, much of the information provided has been brief and relatively insignificant in its contribution towards the overall argument. In this section, I provide an overview of the scholarly works that established the study of *Edo Bayashi* and contributed to the research of this thesis.

Ethnomusicologist William P. Malm is perhaps one of the most influential Western scholars in the study of Japanese music who has contributed greatly to the field of ethnomusicology. He has authored over a dozen books and written nearly one hundred articles and encyclopedia entries from 1956 to 2006. His first book to be published was *Japanese Music*

and Musical Instruments in 1959, the first major English-language publication on the subject of Japanese music. The broad scope of this book provided an overview of Japanese traditional music, and played an important role in developing the ethnomusicological study of Japan. Although some of the information that the book provides may be considered outdated or erroneous, it is still significant for historical study. Included in this book is perhaps the first mention of both *Edo Bayashi* and *matsuri-bayashi* in English language scholarship.[7] In the prologue, he writes a personal anecdote dated September 22, 1955 of his first encounter with Japanese music while studying in Japan. While describing the scene of a Tokyo *matsuri*, he describes *edobayashi*[8] as "a music as gay and lively as Dixieland" (Malm 2000 25***).

Malm subsequently wrote a more detailed article on the subject of the improvisation and variation of *Edo Bayashi* (Malm 1975). It was through this article that I learned that he had studied *Edo Bayashi* with Taneo Wakayama[9], making him the earliest known scholar, practitioner, and teacher of this music outside of Japan. Through an email introduction by Dr. Ricardo Trimillos, Dr. Malm generously provided further information about the history of his studies in Japan and the ensemble that he taught.

The two most detailed English-language scholarships on closely related subjects were both doctoral dissertations. Linda Fujie's dissertation written in 1986 was on the subject of *matsuri-bayashi* in Tokyo. Although there are only briefly mentions of the *Wakayama Ryū*, she

[7] Aside from the validity of this claim, it remains unclear as to whether or not the term is referring to *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi* or a more general sense of the word. See section 1.2.2 for details regarding issues defining *Edo Bayashi.*

[8] I have chosen to maintain Malm's spelling choice, as his usage of *edobayashi* may differ in its meaning from my usage of *Edo Bayashi.*

[9] In this article, Malm writes the name of his teacher as "Kasuo" Wakayama, although did I confirm with him that it was indeed Taneo Wakayama.

provides a detailed survey of the social dynamics between the various *matsuri-bayashi* groups in Tokyo. Furthermore, she also writes about the history of the music and its possible origins by citing Japanese scholarship.

The second dissertation was written in 1994 by David Fish, who was a student of Malm. Although not focused on the subject of *matsuri-bayashi*, Fish wrote extensively about the history of the *Wakayama Ryū* as having developed out of a lineage of *Edo Sato Kagura* (江戸里神楽) performers. Throughout his tenure in Japan, Fish studied directly with Wakayama Taneo, the head teacher of the *Wakayama Ryū,* who had also taught Malm three decades prior. During his fieldwork, Fish conducted numerous interviews with Wakayama, providing valuable information that was previously unavailable in written sources.

A doctoral thesis written by Brian Vogel in 2009 also covers the subject of *Edo Bayashi*. There are, however, important distinctions in this writing from the two dissertations mentioned above. The biggest difference is that his field research was conducted in Honolulu instead of Tokyo. Although he studied *Edo Bayashi* under Kenny Endo, who had studied it in Tokyo, the two contexts have produced vastly different experiences. Another major difference is that there is no mention of the history or the original context of the music. However, he does write a personal account of his experiences learning the music, as well as several detailed musical transcriptions in western notation. In this way, he has provided in writing the first detailed account of the process and context of *Edo Bayashi* transmission outside Japan.

Kiyomi Kushida published an article in 1997 that surveyed over 350 *matsuri-bayashi* groups throughout Tokyo and attempted to classify many of them based on their lineages and

performance styles (Kushida 1997). This has proven useful for understanding the context for situating *Edo Bayashi*, but provides little details of relevance to this thesis.

1.2 Terminological Issues

The initial literature research conducted in order to write this thesis proved to be a rather frustrating experience. This was largely due to a lack of a consensus within previously written materials on the definitions and proper usage of several Japanese terms that are integral to this thesis. In this section, I address the major terminological issues caused by these discrepancies in order to establish how I have chosen to define and use these terms throughout this thesis.

1.2.1 Issues Defining *Edo Bayashi*

First and foremost for this thesis is to address that there is an apparent confusion caused by a lack of specificity regarding the usage of the term *Edo Bayashi*. I have attributed the cause of this confusion to be the similarity in meaning and frequent interchanging with the term *Edo matsuri-bayashi* (江戸祭囃子).[10] This interchanging usage causes problems in scholarship, and especially in English-language scholarship, because it creates the difficulty of discerning what is being discussed. The problem is exacerbated when it misleads an unknowing reader to participate in the spread of misinformation.

It seems that a simple solution to this problem would be to just create a distinction between these two terms by providing clear definitions for each. However, doing so does not

[10] The possessive particle *no* (の) is sometimes also used to add clarity without changing its meaning: *Edo no matsuri-bayashi* (江戸の祭囃子) Vogel has also warned of the confusion surrounding this (Vogel 2009:50)

come without the risk of inadvertently creating new problems that may add to the confusion. Despite this caveat, a distinction must still be made in an effort to clarify the confusion surrounding these terms for the sake of future scholarship.

Edo matsuri-bayashi is generally accepted as a catchall term referring to the various types of *matsuri-bayashi* which are regionally grouped together by being centered around Tokyo, formerly known as Edo. In English, this term is often translated as "the festival music of Tokyo." On the other hand, defining *Edo Bayashi* has proven to be more difficult. Pachter has defined *Edo Bayashi* as the "festival music of the Asakusa area of Tokyo" (Pachter 2013:398). Kushida's broad survey does not seem to define *Edo Bayashi* to be a distinctive style, but does show a few select groups that use *Edo Bayashi* in their title, though their relationship can not be discerned from this information(Kushida 1997). Fujie mentions that "when the Wakayama stylistic group plays at the Sanja Matsuri of Asakusa, it is known as the '*Edo-Bayashi,*"' which would seem to imply that all *Edo Bayashi* would fall under the *Wakayama Ryū*. To further complicate matters, it is a common practice for Japanese speakers to contract long words into shorter forms. In many cases, people have shortened *Edo matsuri-bayashi* into *Edo Bayashi*, unaware of the differences in their meaning.

Throughout this thesis, I have chosen to use the term *Edo Bayashi* strictly as a shorthand for *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi,* a specific repertoire of music and performance practices that has been established and taught as part of the *Wakayama Ryū*.[11] The reason for this choice is not for the sake of convenience but also due to the observation that seemingly all instances of transmission in the United States are directly related to the *Wakayama Ryū.* In addition, this strict

[11] Chapter two provides further details regarding the definition of *Edo Bayashi*.

usage of *Edo Bayashi* also contributes to the subject of authenticity as discussed in section 2.4.1 of this thesis.

~~1.2.2~~ Issues Defining Taiko

One of the challenges that scholars face in the discussion of taiko is the debate and confusion over the terminology that is used and what it represents. This is complicated by the fact that the terminology used in the Japanese and English languages have accrued different meanings throughout their histories. A contributing factor may be that the literature on taiko in these languages have remained largely insular to their respective communities. Furthermore, the continuing changes of the various musical practices that these terms have come to represent pose new challenges as to how they should be defined. These problems of terminology have been acknowledged by scholars who have taken a broader approach to taiko by examining sources in both languages, helping to fill the lacunae between the two (e.g. De Ferranti 2006; Bender 2012; Pachter 2013; Milioto Matsue 2016).

The term "*taiko*" (太鼓) originates from the Japanese language. In simplest terms, "taiko" is translated into English as "drum," and their reference to membranophone instruments is the same. However, the usage of the term "taiko" outside of the Japanese language has developed the implicit meaning of "Japanese drum," possibly by virtue of it being the Japanese word for drums or because most Japanese drums have "taiko" as the root word in the instrument classification. In Japanese usage, the term "*wadaiko*"(和太鼓) is instead used to specify Japanese drums. My own experiences as a taiko practitioner in Japan reflect the lack of specificity that the term "taiko" has in Japanese, often needing the term "*wadaiko*" to clarify the subject of my

conversations. However, taiko players in Japan will often use the term "taiko" as a shorthand among themselves when the context provides the specificity of its reference to Japanese drums.

Another issue to be addressed is its usage in reference to musical genre. Taiko in the English language has become the mainstream term used universally to refer to a broad genre of music that is performed primarily by Japanese drums, regardless of actual qualities of the music. Terms such as "taiko drumming" and "taiko drum" have also been used by scholars and practitioners to differentiate the genre or practice from the instrument. Scholars such as Pachter have acknowledged the repetitive nature of these labels, as "taiko drum" if translated, would just mean "drum drum" (Pachter 2012:19). He also provides a compelling argument for the usage of "*wadaiko*" when referring to the genre (Pachter 2013), though he has admitted that it was met with resistance and he has since chosen to no longer use the term (Pachter, personal communication February 2019). The emergence of group drumming styles and contemporary performance practices that feature Japanese drums as the instrument of focus have also led scholars to debate whether or not it can even be considered a cohesive genre. Milioto Matsue has discussed the challenges and problems that taiko pose to our conceptions of genre, yet ultimately affirms that a conversation could not exist without having these conceptions (Milioto Matsue 2016).

An additional complication to take into consideration is that, because the Japanese language lacks the inflection of nouns, "taiko" can be either singular or plural depending on the context its being used in. When Japanese nouns are borrowed into English, their uses as both singular and plural has only partially been adopted. Although it is less likely to hear most English-speaking taiko practitioners to refer to multiple drums as "taikos," it is not uncommon to

hear or read the addition of the English affix of *-s* ending when referring to multiple taiko of specific types (e.g. *"ō-daikos"* or *"shimedaikos"*). English also requires careful attention to grammatical context, such as the use of articles and verb inflection, to inform the reader or listener as to what aspect of the word "taiko" they are referring. This is especially true for spoken usages of the word that lack additional contextual clarity. While the grammar rules for Japanese loanwords are far from defined, the general usages of "taiko" that I have found most commonly practiced in English are outlined in the table below:

Article	Verb Inflection	Meaning	Example
none	singular	Broad or abstract concepts such as: genre, performance style/medium, community, etc.	"Taiko is an important part of the local community"
none	plural	A non-specific group/ categorization of instruments	"Taiko are an important part of the local community"
definite	singular	A specific instrument	"The taiko is an important part of the local community."
definite	plural	A specific group of instruments	"The taiko are an important part of the local community."
indefinite	singular	A non-specific instrument	"A taiko is an important part of the local community."

Table 1: Usages of the word "Taiko" *in English*

Given that a majority of the English-language scholarship on taiko is focused on identity , [12] it should come as no surprise that the identity politics of taiko in North America by both practitioners and scholars (and their reciprocal influences) have had a profound impact on its

[12] See section 1.1.3

terminology. My experiences with taiko practitioners in the United States have reflected this. I have heard various discussions about the culture of which taiko belongs or represents, with answers ranging from Japanese, Japanese-American, Asian-American, North American, or non-cultural. Many North American taiko practitioners have held the viewpoint that, "taiko" is a Japanese-American or Asian-American artform that is separate from Japan, and therefore terms such as "*wadaiko*" that are more commonly used in Japan do not resonate with their taiko community.

For this thesis, I have chosen to follow in the footsteps of the majority of English-language scholarship through its broad meanings and applications of the term "taiko" instead of "*wadaiko*" despite the problems that have been addressed. Although the borrowed term has yet to become mainstream enough to be recognized by most major English-language dictionaries, I have chosen not to italicize the word. This adheres to the general practice of other English-language taiko scholarship and while also attempting to avoid any potential implications that labeling it as a foreign word may pose within the discourse of identity. However, I have chosen to italicize terms with greater specificity that may fall under this broad term and are found less frequently in English, such as *kumidaiko*, and *matsuri-bayashi*.

1.2.3 Issues Defining Japanese Performing Arts Classifications

Another challenge that scholars of Japanese performing arts face is the terminology employed in the classifications of genre. This is largely due to the remarkable lack of consensus on the definitions of these terms in the Japanese language. Japanese scholars and practitioners

have disagreements amongst themselves over scholarly definitions, and the confusion is exacerbated by the colloquial usage of these terms by practitioners. Consequently, English language scholarship has been influenced by the lack of consistency over definitions in Japanese. These problems become especially apparent in English language scholarship written by non-native Japanese speakers, which has resulted in the standardization of colloquial definitions used by their research subjects, often differing from the definitions used by Japanese scholars. Additional issues also emerge when these terms and their definitions are translated from Japanese into English.

The terms traditional, folk, and classical, as labels for Japanese performing arts, are essential in the discussion of authenticity and transmission, which lend to the overall argument of this thesis. For this reason, I outline the frequently used Japanese language terms and the problems with their definitions, followed by the terms and definitions that I have chosen to use throughout this writing.

The Japanese equivalent of the English term "folk performing art" found most frequently is *minzoku geinō* (民族芸能), which is also a term that *matsuri-bayashi* is often categorized under. The generally accepted meaning of this term is for performing arts that were created and passed down by ordinary people to accompany their local lifestyles and rituals. Japanese scholars have been interested in rural entertainment arts since the early twentieth century, beginning with the works of Yanagita Kunio and Orikuchi Shinobu (Lancashire 2013:36). Early scholarship used terms such as *minzoku geijutsu* (民族芸術 "folk arts") and *kyōdo geinō* (郷土芸能 "regional performing arts"), having largely fallen out of use since the succession by the term *minzoku geinō*. This term was invented in the early 1950s by Japanese folk scholars and its usage became

prevalent through the works of Honda Yasuji. Honda was a central figure in Japanese folk performing arts scholarship throughout the twentieth century through his voluminous output, as well as the classification system that he devised that is still in use today, although it is not without its critics (Lancashire 2013:34–5). Terrence Lancashire has written extensively on Japanese folk performing arts and the history of its study in English, while acknowledging the problems of Honda's classification system (Lancashire 2011, 2013).

Dentō geinō (伝統芸能) is another commonly found term in the discussion of performing arts and is translated to English as "traditional performing arts." This term is generally accepted to mean any performing art that had existed prior to the westernization of Japan, marked by the beginning of the Meiji period (1868), which has been continually transmitted since its creation. However, the authenticity of traditional Japanese performing arts is often based on the belief that a past practice is continued to be reproduced in an orthodox fashion.[13] Conflicting opinions become apparent when this definition should include *minzoku geinō* or not. Some argue that *minzoku geinō* is excluded from this definition because it has been performed by amateurs, who have had free licence to change their performance practices. Furthermore, it lacks the structures and records of its transmission, and therefore does not qualify as a truly traditional performing art, despite any continuity of the social practices that resulted in the performing arts. Thus, *minzoku geinō* remains ambiguous and may or may not possess the implicit quality of traditional.

As a contrast to *minzoku geinō,* the term *koten geinō* (古典芸能) is sometimes used. This term is primarily used by scholars and often translated to English as "classical performing arts." Like the definition of *dentō geinō, koten geinō* is a performing art that has existed prior to

[13] See Chapter 2 for more details on traditional authenticity in Japanese performing arts.

westernization, which has been strictly transmitted due to the preservation of the organizational structures for its transmission. Furthermore, some definitions add that the performance these art forms are for the sake of art appreciation, and therefore are evaluated by defined aesthetic and artistic qualities. This addition explicitly excludes *minzoku geinō* from its definition, as *minzoku geinō* is performed by amateurs for social and religious purposes, and performances are not intended for evaluation on the basis of artistic and aesthetic values.

Hōgaku (邦楽) is a term often translated into English as "traditional Japanese classical music." Yet, in its broadest application, *hōgaku* is a term which designates all of the music created in Japan. The literal translation of this would be "the music of our country," implicitly referring to the country of Japan. The term *hōgaku* originated in the nineteenth century as a construction vis a vis western music, known as *yōgaku* (洋楽). Modern colloquial usage of *hōgaku* can include genres of Western music created in Japan by Japanese musicians, and used to distinguish it from the same genres that are created outside of Japan, such as rock music. However, *hōgaku* is a highly contextual term, and seldom used in its broadest meaning. Most colloquial usages of *hōgaku* by non practitioners refers to classical Japanese music that has existed prior to the Meiji period. In order to clarify the pre-Meiji from the post-Meiji, the term *jun hōgaku* (純邦楽 "pure Japanese music") is sometimes also used.

Despite these definitions, *hōgaku* is commonly used in its narrowest sense, especially by practitioners. This narrow usage of *hōgaku* is actually a shorthand for *kinsei hōgaku* (近世邦楽), meaning "early modern period Japanese music." The commonly accepted definition for the "early modern period" of Japan is said to be during the Edo period (1603–1868), although some argue that it begins earlier. Japanese music scholar Hoshi Akira characterizes *kinsei hōgaku* as

musical genres that were created during the Edo period by common class people, many of which developed alongside other dance and theatrical performing arts and have maintained close connections to the theater. The *Heibonsha World Encyclopedia* definition also adds that *kinsei hōgaku* emerged as entertainment art from urban lifestyles. Similarly, ethnomusicologist Jay Keister defines *hōgaku* as "styles of music that originated in the Edo era and earlier that have 'classical' connotations of artistry, specialization, and patronage in urban areas" (2008:254).

For this thesis, I will use the term *hōgaku* as a shorthand for *kinsei hōgaku* in the same manner as colloquial practice. By borrowing various elements from the definitions provided above, I define *kinsei hōgaku* as: "styles of music originating from the common classes of urban areas for entertainment purposes during the Edo period, which possess 'classical' connotations of artistry, specialization, and patronage." In this way, the definition emphasizes class, urbanity, and artistry, while placing it within an exclusive time period. By contrast, I will use *minzoku geinō* to refer to performing arts which possess "folk" connotations of rurality, amateurism, and social function. Although *minzoku ongaku* (民族音楽) is a specific term for folk music, extracting the music from its intimate connection to the social context and function, seems misleading for the nature of its character. Instead, I will use the more common term of *minzoku geinō,* even when only examining the musical practices. Additionally, the quality of being traditional will be implicit in the usages of *hōgaku* and classical, but not in *minzoku geinō* or folk. This distinction is essential in subsequent discussions of how Japanese traditional authenticity can be constructed in other performing arts by borrowing musical materials and practices from *hōgaku*.

1.3 Methodology

The methodology of this research primarily employs three broad methods: research of existing literature/materials, ethnographic fieldwork, and musical analysis. The initial literary research involved an evaluation of the current academic literature in both Japanese and English in order to identify the lacunae in the scholarship, as well as the construction of a theoretical framework that connects this research to the existing academe. The ethnographic fieldwork and musical analysis methods have generated new data to help fill this missing information and substantiate the application of the theoretical framework, while also grounding this research within the realm of ethnomusicology.

As a student of taiko under the guidance of my teacher, Kenny Endo, I had the fortunate opportunity of studying Sukeroku Taiko pieces and both *Edo Bayashi* and *Kotobuki Jishi* (寿獅子), as well as being introduced to a network of individuals whose knowledge has been essential to this research. Indeed, it was through studying with Kenny Endo that I began to see and understand the connections that formed the basis of this research.

In the summer of 2017, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with Suzuki Kyosuke as his interpreter during his workshops and performances in Hawai'i. Since then I have taken several lessons with him to further my studies in the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory. In April of 2018, I was invited to Chicago by Jason Matsumoto to observe Ho Etsu Taiko study *Wakayama Ryū* during Suzuki Kyosuke's week long residency and culminating performance. They have been chronicling the journey of their studies in an online blog, which has been an insightful source of information and perspectives. I had a chance to reconnect with Suzuki in Chicago and planned a trip to Tokyo in the following month to take lessons and observe the *Sanja Matsuri*. Suzuki has been very supportive of my research by allowing me to borrow valuable personal resources and

giving permission to film public performances by the Wakayama Shachu and audio record our private lessons.

Upon approval of this research, I began conducting interviews with the people I connected with along the journey. Interviews with Kenny Endo and Suzuki Kyosuke have provided valuable information on the early connections between Wakayama Shachu and Sukeroku Taiko, as they were both involved in the two groups. I also conducted interviews with people who have studied with one of these two teachers. In order to keep the scope of the research manageable, I conducted interviews with people who met at least one of these criteria:

-has been a host or helped in the planning of Suzuki's workshops in the United States

-has studied with Suzuki in Tokyo

-has composed music borrowing elements from the *Edo Bayashi* repertoire

These interviews helped to shape my understanding from the perspectives of the students and the history of *Edo Bayashi* in the United States. All of these interviews were conducted in either Japanese or English, whichever was the native language of the interviewee. In the cases of bilingual speakers, I chose to conduct the interview in English in order to keep the quotations used in this thesis in their own words.

In addition to this ethnographic research and the literature reviewed above, I have also utilized musical analysis to cross examine *Edo Bayashi* with taiko compositions that have borrowed musical ideas from the *Wakayama Ryū*. Because *Edo Bayashi* is improvisatory in nature, I have chosen to use the recordings provided on the CD that accompanies the study booklet published by the Wakayama Shachu. Although there is no way of knowing the full extent of all the taiko compositions or performances that have borrowed musical elements from

the *Wakayama Ryū*, the compositions that I have selected to examine are: "Symmetrical Soundscapes" by Kenny Endo, and "Meguri" by Hiroshi Tanaka. Fortunately, my experiences of studying taiko with Kenny Endo has given me the opportunity to learn how to perform these pieces that I have chosen to transcribe. I have been able to collect the scores written by the composers themselves, aiding in both the analysis and transcriptions. These musical analyses are crucial in demonstrating that the social connections between Sukeroku Taiko and Wakayama Shachū can be observed in the impact that it has had on subsequent music making.

1.4 Significance of the Present Study

As mentioned above in the literature review, English language scholarship on the *matsuri-bayashi* of Tokyo has been limited. Although the subject of the *Wakayama Ryū* has been studied by scholars such as William Malm, David Fish, and Linda Fujie, it has never been examined from the scope of international transmission, as the phenomenon has only recently been observed. Scholars coming from the perspective of taiko studies, such as Shawn Bender, Benjamin Pachter, and Kenny Endo, have briefly acknowledged the influence of Tokyo festival music on Sukeroku Taiko pieces. Of these writings, only Benjamin Pachter has done a musical analysis to observe these influences. Yet, none of these writings have made the connection the *Wakayama Ryū* as being one of the main sources of influence. In this way, this present research is the first to examine the close network of relations between Wakayama Shachū and Sukeroku Taiko, placing their histories into English language scholarship. Furthermore, it is the first to show how each group has made a profound impact on each other, namely the musical influences of Wakayama Shachū on Sukeroku Taiko and the social influences of Sukeroku Taiko on

Wakayama Shachū. This will help to bridge the gap in scholarship between these two studies, while also placing it within the broader discourses of ethnomusicology and anthropology.

Chapter 2

Background, Framing, and Legitimating the Authenticity of *Edo Bayashi* as a Traditional Japanese Performing Art

This chapter begins with an examination of the history and context of *Edo Bayashi* in the setting of Tokyo, to provide the reader with the necessary background knowledge of the performing arts for the subsequent discussions. Once the groundwork has been laid, the focus of this chapter shifts to the legitimation of authenticity within *Edo Bayashi* as a traditional Japanese classical performing arts within the context of Japan. This is done by placing *Edo Bayashi* within a theoretical framework informed by the scholarship of ethnomusicology, anthropology, and Japan studies. Furthermore, this chapter includes relevant discussions on the general practices of traditional Japanese performing arts, serving a framework for comparison.

I argue that there are multiple modes of authentication which occur through various pathways, often intertwined and influencing each other. This chapter identifies three modes of authentication that occur for *Edo Bayashi*. The first of these modes is the legitimation of authenticity through the Wakayama family lineage as descendants of *kagura* performers. The second mode of authenticity occurs via the adoption of practices, techniques, and titles from the more classical genres of performing arts such as *hōgaku.* The third mode of authenticity is through the localized identity *Edokko* (江戸っ子) of the *Shitamachi* (下町) area of Tokyo, believed to be the home of a more traditionally Japanese lifestyle. This mode will also be examined through the local scope of Tokyo, as well as the national scope of Japan via the discourse of *furusato*. All three of these modes contribute to the reputation of the music and its performers as

authentic within the context of Japan.

Additionally, these three modes legitimate various types of authenticity that, when placed outside of the context of Japan, are grouped together as part of a broader sense of Japanese cultural authenticity. However, attempting to provide a definition for what "authenticity" is as a concept extends beyond the scope of this research. In this thesis, I will simply be discussing how the discourses of authenticity contributes to its legitimacy, rather than evaluating their truth values. In this discussion, I distinguish between two types of authenticities: traditional authenticity and authoritative authenticity. Traditional authenticity is legitimated by establishing connections to a source of origin, as well as possessing a convincing quality of orthodox reproduction. Authoritative authenticity can be legitimated by the virtue of authentication by a figure of authority, most often a person with high social status that can be either ascribed or achieved. These two authenticities contribute to the broader discourse of authenticity and are not mutually exclusive, as they often provide reciprocal support for one another.

2.1 Contemporary Context of *Edo Bayashi*

The *Sanja Matsuri* of Tokyo's Asakusa district is one of Japan's most heavily attended *matsuri*, drawing nearly two million people over the course of the three day celebration. One of the highlights of the festival activities is the parading of numerous *mikoshi* (神輿) around the local neighborhoods. A *mikoshi* is a portable shrine that temporarily houses a Shinto deity during festival times, which are carried on the shoulders of the festival participants much like a palanquin. In order to raise the spirits of the *mikoshi* carriers, *matsuri-bayashi* groups provide musical accompaniment for them, often following them during the parade in their own floats,

adding to the energetic atmosphere for all of the participants and viewers. In populated areas such as Tokyo, there are numerous *matsuri-bayashi* groups with their own unique musical styles. For large festivals such as the *Sanja Matsuri*, these become spectacular events of musical diversity. However, much of the music played by these *matsuri-bayashi* groups during the *Sanja Matsuri* share the same roots and show musical similarities. Thus, within this apparently musically diverse soundscape remains a cohesive sound that is idiomatic of the *Sanja Matsuri*.

As a broad categorization, *matsuri-bayashi* is considered to be a form of *minzoku geinō,* often having its roots in the practices of a regional or local festival. Although the problems with labels such as "folk" have been acknowledged by ethnomusicologists, one of the widely accepted characteristics of folk performing arts is that it is primarily performed by common people and not by specialists, (Miller and Shahriari 2012). The Japanese usage of *minzoku geinō* adheres to this idea of amateurism being one of its defining characteristics. Indeed, the vast majority of the *matsuri-bayashi* groups that perform during the *Sanja Matsuri* are considered to be amateur groups, regardless of the level of their musical training. Despite this general acceptance of *matsuri-bayashi* as *minzoku geinō,* there seems to be a unique distinction between *puro* ("professional") and *shirōto* (amateur) *matsuri-bayashi* groups in Tokyo, a distinction that is often made by the musicians themselves (Fujie 1986:89). This distinction would seemingly contradict the notion of the *matsuri-bayashi* as a form of *minzoku geinō.*

Among the few groups that are considered to perform professional *matsuri-bayashi*, the Wakayama Taneo Shachū (commonly referred to as "Wakayama Shachū"[14] in both Japanese and

[14] "*Shachū*" (社中) is often translated into English as "troupe," and therefore, alternate translations of this name such as "Wakayama Troupe" or "Wakayama Performance Troupe" may also be found in English.

English), is one of the most widely known performing troupes and has a reputation for their high level of musical performance. The group is named after the fourth and current *iemoto* (家元) of the *Wakayama Ryū*, Wakayama Taneo.[15] The Wakayama Shachū is the representative performing group for the *Wakayama Ryū,* a *minzoku geinō* school headquartered in a section of the *Shitamachi* known as Kuramae. In accordance with their reputation, the Wakayama Shachū performs in the most privileged venues and events during the *Sanja Matsuri*, often performing during other festivals in the *Shitamachi* as well.

The *Wakayama Ryū* boasts a vast repertoire of music and dance pieces, most of which fall into the genre of *kagura* (神楽)[16] with only a small portion that falls within the genre of *matsuri-bayashi.* The style of *matsuri-bayashi* taught in the *Wakayama Ryū* is known as *Edo Bayashi*, taking its name "Edo" from the former name of Tokyo. *Edo Bayashi* is a collection of musical pieces that can be separated into three subcategories: *kihon kyoku* (基本曲 "basic pieces"), *hikyoku* (秘曲 "secret pieces"), and *nageai* (投げ合い also called *mikoshi bayashi*). These pieces can be rearranged and performed in a variety of contexts, such as a purely musical concert setting or as accompaniment to *matsuri* events. [17]

As the performing ensemble for a school of *minzoku geinō*, a likely inference would be that Wakayama Shachū is an amateur performing ensemble like the rest of the *matsuri-bayashi* groups. However, this does not seem to be the case. What, then, are the reasons for the

[15] Detailed definitions for these terms can be found in the subsequent discussion of the *iemoto system*.
[16] *Kagura* is a generic term for a broad genre of Shinto theatrical dance and music. The two major categorizations are *mikagura* (*kagura* of the imperial household) and its derivative forms known as *sato kagura* (every other type, the so-called "folk" *kagura*).
[17] See chapter four for a more detailed description of the musical practice of *Edo Bayashi.*

distinctions between amateur and professional *matsuri-bayashi* musicians? In her study of *matsuri-bayashi* in Tokyo, Linda Fujie states:

> In the case of Tokyo's *matsuri-bayashi*, those who are called "professional" musicians are, without exception, all *sato kagura* musicians and dancers who have learned *matsuri-bayashi* in relatively recent times. The relationship between *sato kagura* and *matsuri-bayashi* in Edo has always been a close one (1994:90).

Although the focus of this research is on *Edo Bayashi* and the transmission of the music to the United States, the Wakayama Shachū is perhaps most widely known in Japan for its *Edo Sato Kagura*. Indeed, the addition of *Edo Bayashi* into the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory is said to be a recent development in comparison to *Edo Sato Kagura.* Thus, the history of the *Edo Bayashi* must necessarily be understood from the history of the lineage of *Wakayama Ryū* as descendants of *Edo Sato Kagura* performers.

2.2 History of the *Wakayama Ryū*

Edo Sato Kagura is a form of folk theater in which mimed dramas are performed by masked dancer-actors and accompanied by small musical ensembles (Fish 1994:2). The artform has been designated as an Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property in 1997 by the national government of Japan. The *Wakayama Ryū* is presently one of four surviving schools[18] of *Edo Sato Kagura* to be recognized by scholars and government organizations. Furthermore, it is said

[18] The other three are Matsumoto, Mamiya, and Yamamoto.

to be one of the most active of these surviving schools (ibid:4).

The *Wakayama Ryū* traces its origins back four generations to the early Meiji period (1868–1912)[19]. Before the Meiji period, *Edo Sato Kagura* performers were often members of the clergy and directly connected with Shinto shrines, although there are few sources on its early history. However, the beginning of the Meiji brought the overthrow of the previous feudal Tokugawa Shogunate and the formation of a new national government that restored practical imperial rule to the Empire of Japan. As a part of this restoration of imperial ruling, the government began the restructuring and centralization of Shinto as the official religion of Japan. Although there is no hard evidence to support this, Fish hypothesizes that this restructuring may have played a significant role in the separation of *Edo Sato Kagura* from Shinto shrines, resulting in the formation of privatized schools of *Edo Sato Kagura* (ibid:24).

The founder and first *iemoto* of the *Wakayama Ryū* was Wakayama Kiyotane (d.1925), a priest and caretaker at the Kuramae Shrine in the *Shitamachi* area. Kiyotane lived a life of longevity, building the *Wakayama Ryū* into one of the best known *Edo Sato Kagura* schools in Tokyo. Because he had no children of his own, he adopted a worthy student as his son to pass on the school. This student became the second *iemoto* known as Wakayama Shinnojō (b.1865–d.1930). Shinnojō died only five years after Kiyotane and had a brief tenure as the *iemoto*. Shinnojō also had no children and adopted a student as his son. This student became the third *iemoto,* Wakayama Toramaro (1893–1929). Toramaro died before Shinnojō at a young age, but he did father Wakayama Taneo (1928–2019) who became the fourth and current *iemoto* (Fish:27–8).

[19] All four surviving *Edo Sato Kagura* schools are said to date back to the early Meiji.

Being the first *iemoto* to be born into the Wakayama family, Wakayama[20] has been studying and performing *kagura* since the age of six. In addition to this, he also has a diverse background in other Japanese traditional performing arts. At the age of eighteen, he began studying the *shinobue* (篠笛)[21] for *nagauta* (長唄)[22] under Katada Kisaburō III. When Katada went on to establish the *Hōsei Ryū*[23] in 1948, Wakayama was given the stage name Hōsei Haruo. Furthermore, Wakayama became the *iemoto* for his own branch of the *Hōsei Ryū* in 1969, making him an *iemoto* of two schools (Wakayama 1996:151). Many consider him to be one of the two best *shinobue* players in the world of traditional Japanese music (Fish 1994:28).

In 1996, Wakayama published a booklet entitled the *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi Tezuke*, colloquially referred to as the *tsuke* by practitioners. The *tsuke* contains a complete notation of the basic patterns for all the instruments on the pieces within the *Edo Bayashi* repertory, as well as writings on the techniques, instruments, and aesthetic principles as an introductory guide to the study of the *Edo Bayashi*.[24] In addition to this, he also wrote on the history of *Edo Bayashi* and the Wakayama family. Although Wakayama acknowledges that there are many conflicting theories and gaps in knowledge, such a rich written resource such had not been previously available. The following section is a summary of Wakayama's narrative history of *Edo Bayashi* as written in the *tsuke*.[25]

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[20] All subsequent usage of the last name "Wakayama" by itself when referencing a person will refer to the current *iemoto*, Wakayama Taneo, unless otherwise noted.
[21] Japanese transverse bamboo flute.
[22] A musical genre performed primarily by *shamisen* and voice that often accompanies the *kabuki* theater.
[23] A *nagauta* school which specializes in the *shinobue.*
[24] See chapter three for a discussion on the role of the *tsuke* in transmission to the United States.
[25] It should be noted that, although this seemingly comes from the knowledge of one individual, it is not to say that the history as told by Wakayama is purely speculative. He has worked with several Japanese folk scholars and has endorsed, questioned, and refuted their theories, exemplifying his awareness towards the available scholarship.

2.3 History of *Edo Bayashi* in the *Tsuke*

The origins of the *matsuri-bayashi* that was played in Edo is said to have come from across the river in Kasai during first year of the Kyōho era (1716–1735).[26][27] From Edo, it quickly spread to the surrounding suburban areas. Up until the end of the Meiji period (1868–1925), the Wakayama family had exclusively worked as *kagura* performers. However, around the time when the Taishō period (1912–1926) began, the first *iemoto* Kiyotane felt that it was necessary to incorporate *matsuri-bayashi* into their repertory to in order to keep up with the changing times. Kiyotane instructed his grandson Haruyoshi (Taneo's uncle) to become an emissary of the family for the study of *matsuri-bayashi.* Since then, the Wakayama family has performed both *kagura* and *matsuri-bayashi* as the source of their livelihood (Wakayama 1996:5).

Since the arrival of this music in Edo, there have been numerous talented performers of *matsuri-bayashi* who have competed against each other by devising new and unique performance styles. Over the years, their ingenuity changed the music from what originally came from Kasai into a distinct style which fit the aesthetic values of Edo. As the exchange between different groups and teachers became more common, they began sharing their techniques, patterns, and sometimes entire pieces with each other (Wakayama 1996:5).

The above three sections have briefly examined the contemporary and historical context of *Edo Bayashi,* as well as the history of the Wakayama family, serving as an exposition of the background information needed to begin the discussion of how the authenticity of *Edo Bayashi* is

[26] Although Kasai is now a part of Tokyo, in the past it was outside of the boundaries of Edo.
[27] This early origin story is in accordance with the one provided by Fujie based on the writings of Kyoson Ikiru from 1898. See Fujie 1986 for more details on the early origins of this music.

legitimated. Although the focus of subsequent discussions in this chapter shifts towards the theoretical framework, detailed information that support the framework will continue to be included as they become relevant to the discussion.

2.4 Authenticity Through *Kagura* Lineage and the *Iemoto* System

Authenticity in traditional Japanese performing arts is most often conceived as the performer's ability to correctly reproduce a past practice. In order to do this, the nature of what is being transmitted and the people responsible for its transmission, must have historical depth to lend authority to the idea that the current practice is orthodox. For many traditional performing arts in Japan, this is done by following a hierarchical system of transmission known as the *iemoto seidō* (家元制度), or "headmaster system," in which the student enrolls in the school of a performing art style that is overseen by a headmaster known as an *iemoto*. These schools are known as *ryū* (流) or *ryūha* (流派), and in this sense, "school" implies more of a lineage of style rather than a physical location of study. The position of the *iemoto* is often passed on through patrilineal descent to keep the ownership of the *ryūha* within the family, although there are several exceptions. By having a centralized succession of the *iemoto* and taking great care in documenting the genealogy of the *ryū*, the *iemoto* system situates teachers and students within the lineage of a long historical chain (Fujita 2001:803).

The general organizational structure of this system can be understood by visualizing a pyramid. At the top of the pyramid is the *iemoto*, an individual of great accomplishment and skill. Below the *iemoto* are their students, who are often teachers themselves and have their own students. This structure continually self-replicates itself further down the chain. The knowledge

of the artform is passed down from the *iemoto* to the lower tiers, and in return, students of the lower levels support the upper levels by paying tuition.

Many *ryū* that follow the *iemoto* system often employ a series of proficiency certifications as well as a license to teach. This license to teach most often comes in the form of *natori*, in which the student receives a stage name from the *iemoto*. This new name is usually formed by taking the family name of the *iemoto* and a first name that combines characters of their teacher's name with elements of their own name or personality. The *natori* is proof that an individual has completed the training process, allowing them to become professionals by taking their own students and earning pay for their artistic activities. Obtaining this teaching license most often involves the student paying the teacher with a sum of money, making the practice of licensing an economic foundation for the *iemoto* system. (Fujita 2001:805). [28]

Related to this system is the practice of forming groups known as a *shachū. Shachū* is a term used among some Japanese traditional arts to refer to a group whose membership consists of a teacher and their students that perform the activities of their artform together. The *shachū* often takes the full name of the teacher who established the group, making the group the representatives of the teachings of their teacher. Thus, participating in the activities of the *shachū* is often limited to the students who have been deemed capable of representing their teacher. In many performing arts, a teacher will form a *shachū* out of the necessity for multiple people to be able to perform their artform. In many cases, the *shachū* may also perform without the participation of the teacher that they represent.

[28] For a more detailed explanation of *iemoto* system and *ryū* organization see Hsu (1975), O'Neill (1984), Ortolani (1969), Read and Locke (1983).

The observation of these general practices in traditional Japanese performing arts are also exercised by the *Wakayama Ryū* to a great extent. Such an emphasis on history and lineage as ways of convincing the traditional authenticity of the *Wakayama Ryū* and their performing arts can most easily be observed in the writings of the *tsuke*. The preface begins with the history of *Edo Bayashi* by dating it to the earliest possible source of origin, and subsequently discusses it in relation to the history of the *Wakayama Ryū* lineage and how the music was incorporated into their repertory by the direction of the first *iemoto* (Wakayama 1996:5). The final pages of the *tsuke* offers a genealogy chart which connects all of the previous *iemoto* of *Wakayama Ryū* to their *kagura* performing ancestors, of which very little is known due to the lack of documentation. However, the ambiguity of the ancestral history allows for claims to an undefined mystical past, leaving the history of the lineage to the imagination of the student. In addition to the genealogy chart, a timeline of Wakayama's major accomplishments and studies with other notable traditional performing artists since his birth is also provided (Wakayama 1996:151). There is no mention in the *tsuke* that most of the Wakayama family members were adopted to keep the family lineage alive, perhaps due to the possibility that it may detract from their claim to hereditary authenticity.

Besides lending credence to the traditional authenticity of the music, the advocacy of authoritative authenticity can be observed in the writings of the *tsuke*. In this sense, authenticity is legitimated by an appeal to social status, both ascribed and achieved, to postulate a voice of authority over a subject. While an appeal to authority may be a weak argument in many cases, it does contribute to the *perception* of authenticity in the context of Japanese performing arts.

Authoritative authenticity can most easily be observed in Wakayama's discussion of the historical relationship between *matsuri-bayashi* performers and *kagura* performers:

> ...In the past, there used to be a rule that *kagura* performers could not play *matsuri-bayashi*. They wore the same clothing and hats as the Shinto priests, and were permitted to equip swords at their waists. The *matsuri-bayashi* players could passed through the *torii* (鳥居)[29] to visit the shrine, but they were not permitted to climb up onto the *kagura* stage. Likewise, if the *kagura* performers passed through the *torii* to leave the shrine, they were not permitted to climb up onto the *yatai*[30] and play *matsuri-bayashi*. Of the two, *kagura* used to be one step higher... (Wakayama 1996:148–9)

By illustrating the image of the clothing that *kagura* musicians wore as the same as the priest, they evoke their status through religious authority. Wakayama makes a point to include that they had permission to wear swords at the waist. During the Edo period, this was only permitted to the samurai and selected classes, making it a symbol of high social status. Furthermore, by discussing the locations of their performance relative to the *torii*, Wakayama locates themselves within the realm of the sacred world and while placing other performers on the outside.

The appeal to the higher social status of the *kagura* lineage is evident in this portrayal. However, the nature of the social status held by *kagura* performers of the past remains disputed

[29] *Torii* are gates found at the entrance to a Shinto shrine which marks a symbolic barrier between the sacred and the mundane worlds.
[30] *Yatai*, simply means a cart, but has various meanings depending on context. In this context it refers to carts that are paraded around town during a *matsuri*, where oftentimes musicians ride on top to provide accompaniment.

by *matsuri-bayashi* musicians, who claim that they had low status due to their dependence on performances for their livelihood, making them "little more than beggars" (Fujie 1986:91). Regardless of the relative status of *kagura* performers before the Meiji period, the importance lies in the implications of the claims themselves, which legitimate authoritative authenticity via ascribed status.

2.4.1 Is *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi* the Only "*Edo Bayashi?*"

Another way that authoritative authenticity is invoked is via the distinction of themselves as professionals rather than the amateurs. Fujie writes that the performers of *Sato Kagura* trained full time and their livelihood was through performance, while *matsuri-bayashi* performers were farmers and merchants who worked during the day and only practiced at night (1986:90–1). Indeed, the first passage in the preface of the *tsuke* begins with:

> *Edo Bayashi* is the name of the *hayashi* that is performed during the religious festivals that are centered around Edo. On the other hand, the name may also refer to the *hayashi* that employs professional skills, specifically those that are performed by professionals, as distinguished from the *ji bayashi* performed by groups primarily formed by shrine parishioners (Wakayama 1996:5).

If we accept Fujie's earlier description that professional *matsuri-bayashi* musicians are all *sato kagura* musicians, along with Wakayama's latter definition of *Edo Bayashi*, there are only four schools of *Edo Sato Kagura* that could perform *Edo Bayashi*. In a subsequent section of the

tsuke, Wakayama additionally defines the location of Edo as being centered around the locations of Asakusa, Kuramae, Fukagawa, and Tsukuda (1996:148). These locations are in the heart of the *Shitamachi* area and is coincidentally the home territory for activities performed by the Wakayama Shachū. This definition of Edo simultaneously places the *Wakayama Ryū* in the center while excluding the three other *Edo Sato Kagura* schools by placing them in the outer periphery (Fish 1994:26–7). Regardless of their truth values, accepting these claims would permit the deduction that the *Edo Bayashi* taught and performed by members of the Wakayama Shachū (and therefore *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi*), is the authentic form of *Edo Bayashi*.

2.5 Legitimating Authenticity through *Hōgaku* Connections and Practices

In Japan, it is not uncommon for a performing art labeled as *minzoku geinō* to adopt practices that are closely associated with the "classical" genres of performing arts. *Minzoku geinō* as a classification for Japanese folk performing arts is a recent development, and is more indicative of the nature of scholarship at the time rather than the nature of the artforms.[31] Thus as more professional performing groups emerge out of *minzoku geinō* genres, they challenge the notion of folk as amateur and classical as professional. I suggest that because *minzoku geinō* are often denied from being considered authentic forms of traditional performing arts, borrowing practices and customs from other classical performing arts enables *minzoku geinō* genres such as the *Wakayama Ryū* to legitimate their own traditional authenticity in contemporary times.

One of the essential traits of a classical Japanese performing art often assimilated into

[31] See chapter one section on the issues defining classifications in Japanese performance arts.

minzoku geinō genres is the usage of the *iemoto* system and the formation of a *ryū*, as observed in the case of the *Wakayama Ryū.*[32] As mentioned in the previous section, this system ensures hereditary ownership and traditional authenticity of the artform by establishing continuity through lineage and using methods of transmission that provide assurance of faithful reproduction and preservation of tradition. A brief examination of the history of the *iemoto* system provides us with possible answers for why it has come to be a characteristic trait of classical Japanese performing arts.

Although similar systems of hierarchy and transmission have existed since the Heian period (794–1185) in art forms such as poetry and *gagaku,* the *iemoto* system notably developed during the Edo period. The Edo period is distinguished by the feudalistic ruling of a military government known as the Tokugawa Shogunate, which enforced strict laws that resulted in greater social class stratification among the samurai, nobles, and common people (Hoshi 1971:62). The economic prosperity and peacefulness of this period witnessed the growth in population and overall wealth of the common class in urban areas, which provided new opportunities for amateurs to study various artforms (Nishiyama 1982:14, Keister 2008:241). However, because the commoner class was not permitted to study the performing arts reserved for the higher classes,[33] they created their own performing arts for the sake of entertainment. Many of these performing arts were closely associated with the theater, and became the first popular forms of entertainment for the masses in Japan.

The musical arts that developed during this period came to be called *hōgaku* in later

[32] Similar examples include genres such as *minyō* and *tsugaru shamisen*, although there are many more.
[33] Such examples include *noh* theater for the *samurai* class and *gagaku* for the noble class.

periods marked by Japan's westernization.[34] Many believe that as a result of the isolationist policies of the shogunate, *hōgaku* exemplifies the most uniquely Japanese styles of traditional music, having developed in a period prior to westernization and independently from sinicization (Hoshi 1971:62). *Hōgaku* genres subsequently became the representative forms of classical Japanese music through their widespread accessibility, lack of western influence, and the traditional continuity provided by the *iemoto* system. The hierarchical structures and customary practices of the *iemoto* system that are still in use today can be viewed as a microcosm of the stratified feudal society of the Edo period (Hoshi 1971:62). In this way, the *iemoto* system not only helps to legitimate the traditional authenticity within an individual artform, but the system itself as a preservation of traditional Japanese society also provides the continuity between the traditional past and the present day. By incorporating the *iemoto* system, *minzoku geinō* genres such as the *Wakayama Ryū* can garner authenticity as a traditional performing art by connecting with a traditional past, which can reach beyond the artform's history of formal establishment in the post Meiji era.

However, there is a crucial exception in the case of the *Wakayama Ryū* and its adherences to the common practices of the *iemoto* system: there is no process of *natori*. This means that there is no formalized process by which a student can receive a professional stage name or a license for performing and teaching the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory. With the exception of adoption,[35] it is not possible to gain the family name as an individual performer that can represent the *Wakayama Ryū.* Thus, the standard economic model for the *iemoto* system seems to

[34] See chapter one for a more detailed discussion on definitions and usages of the term *hōgaku.*
[35] An example would be the second and third *iemoto* of the *Wakayama Ryū.*

break down without the *natori* process to grow the student base. Indeed, most students earn very little if any money from performing or teaching the *Wakayama Ryū* (Fish 1994:29). There are very few performers and teachers other than Wakayama himself that have made a living from the *Wakayama Ryū.*[36]

For the students of *Wakayama Ryū,* there seems to be few restrictions on the study of other artforms. This is contrary to the values of loyalty and restrictions commonly associated with the *iemoto* system.[37] Hybridization between genres and schools are generally avoided in the traditional arts in order to preserve the authenticity of the artform (Fujita 2001:804). Fewer restrictions on its students and having no process of *natori* may be more of a reflection of the *Wakayama Ryū* as fundamentally a genre of *minzoku geinō.* However, it is important to keep in mind that Wakayama had also received a *natori* in the *hōgaku* genre of *nagauta* and became the *iemoto* of his own branch of the *Hōsei Ryū.* The result is an *iemoto* of two schools, of which one is a school of *minzoku geinō* and the other a school of *hōgaku.* There seems to be no financial necessity for a *natori* process in the *Wakayama Ryū*, because it exists in the *Hōsei Ryū.* Furthermore, restricting a student from studying another artform seems somewhat hypocritical given Wakayama's background.

It seems rather unlikely that the techniques and practices of the *Wakayama Ryū* has not been hybridized at all by the *hōgaku* genres that Wakayama had studied. In fact, the Wakayama Shachū has been criticized in the past for this very reason. In the world of Japanese folk theater, there are some who have complained that Wakayama Shachū's performances of *Edo Sato*

[36] The only two examples I have come across would be Suzuki Kyosuke and Maru Kenjirō.
[37] See Keister 2008 for details on loyalty in the *iemoto* system.

Kagura has become overly refined by imitating *Noh* too much, in an attempt to create artistic worth, making it less folk-like (Fish 1994:98). *Matsuri-bayashi* musicians in Tokyo have also complained that, although they praise the elegance and tone quality of Wakayama's *shinobue* playing, it has been too heavily influenced by *nagauta* and therefore his style of performance is not typical of the *matsuri-bayashi* of Tokyo (Fujie 1986:149).

Although Wakayama rejects these notions of stylistic cross-fertilization (Fish 1998:29), most likely out of a desire to protect the *Wakayama Ryū* from being detracted of its authenticity, I argue that such hybridizations have actually bolstered its authenticity as a traditional performing art. Throughout the personal interviews I conducted with musicians who have studied the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory under members of the Wakayama Shachū, there was consistent agreement that the initial attraction to the study of this music because of its high level of musicianship and technical skill. This seems to imply that those who gravitate to the study of this music seek out the classical qualities of the *Wakayama Ryū* over the folk qualities that it shares in common with its related *minzoku geinō* genres. In this sense, the authenticity of the *Wakayama Ryū* as a traditional performing art does not come from adherence to the orthodox reproduction of its folk origins, but instead comes from the qualities that it shares with *hōgaku* and other classical Japanese performing arts.

In addition to the professional skill level and the *iemoto* system, there are other characteristics of the *Wakayama Ryū* that builds an even closer connection with *hōgaku*. The most apparent connections is Wakayama's position as an *iemoto* of a *hōgaku* genre. As a highly respected professional of traditional performing arts, Wakayama's achieved status through *hōgaku* lends authoritative authenticity to the *Wakayama Ryū* in a similar fashion to the

authoritative authenticity legitimated via his ascribed status of *kagura* lineage. Both of these add to the professional nature of the *Wakayama Ryū.* This connection is further established by a number of Wakayama's students having also been students of *hōgaku* genres. A notable Wakayama Shachū member is Maru Kenjirō, a longtime student of Wakayama who was considered to have been his right hand man until his passing. Maru had also received the *natori* of Hōsei Harumitsu under the *Hōsei Ryū* (Kenny Endo, personal interview February 2019).

In the *tsuke*, Wakayama has written on the aesthetic of *Edomae* (江戸前) or "Edo-ness," a certain sense of urban refinement unique to Edo, that distinguishes the *matsuri-bayashi* of Edo from its rural counterparts. He writes that when the music originally came to Edo from the countryside,[38] the people "removed the dirt and cleaned it up" to make it suitable for Edo (Wakayama 1996:147).

As defined in chapter one, the "classical" connotations of *hōgaku* are emphasized by urbanity and artistry. Having aesthetic qualities and technique standards from which the music can be judged would imply that it is viewed as art music, although this seems contradictory to the definitions given for *minzoku geinō*.[39]

2.6 *Edokko* Identity and "Edo" as a Symbol of Traditional Authenticity

Given that several pieces of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory and the aesthetic qualities that they emphasize both include "Edo" in their names, I believe that the significance behind this term warrants an investigation. I suggest that the term "Edo" and its contemporary usage in

[38] More specifically from Kasai, which at the time was a rural village on the outskirts of Edo.
[39] See chapter one for further details.

Japanese has developed connotations which go beyond its reference to the historic name of Tokyo. I believe an argument can be made that "Edo" has become symbolic of traditional Japanese culture. In this way, the significance of "Edo" becomes yet another pathway for legitimating the traditional authenticity of *Edo Bayashi.*

Jennifer Robertson has proposed the idea of *furusato*[40] as a symbolic time and place that evokes a nostalgic reimagination of a rustic and traditional Japan that has been lost as a result of modernization (1988). Despite the contradiction between the urban/modern setting of Tokyo and the rural/traditional iconicity of the nostalgic *furusato*, "Edo" still possess the possibilities of symbolizing the *furusato* of the city of Tokyo, and more broadly, Japan as a whole, by adjusting the scope of its examination.[41] Due to the nature of *furusato* comprising both temporal and spatial dimensions (Robertson 1988:495), both location and history must be examined to understand the analysis of "Edo" as *furusato.*

The usage of the term "Edo period" as a periodization in Japanese history most clearly demonstrates the capacity of "Edo" to function as *furusato* through its temporal dimension. The naming of the Edo period is a result of the period being defined by the centralized ruling of Japan by the Tokugawa Shogunate, which officially began with the establishment of the shogunate in Edo as their capital city in 1603 and ended in 1868 when the shogunate fell during the Meiji restoration.[42] As mentioned, the Edo period is when the *iemoto* system and *hōgaku* genres

[40] *Furusato* has been translated into English as "native place" or "hometown" which emphasizes the notion of origins and nativity. However, Robertson has broken down the meanings of its Chinese characters as "old village" which gives it the associated imagery of a rural past.
[41] Robertson has discussed the socio-political construction of "*furusato* Tokyo" by conflating the actual cityscape and the nostalgic image of an old village through an act of nomenclature which differs in its meaning and construction of my analysis of "Edo" as *furusato*.
[42] This period is also sometimes referred to as the Tokugawa period.

developed, and is believed to be the most culturally unique Japanese period in history due to its isolationism and lack of foreign influence. Edo was renamed Tokyo at the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868, which is known as the period of rapid westernization. From this perspective, "Edo period" represents the last period of Japanese history thought to possess the certainty of Japanese traditional culture, before westernization called Japanese cultural identity into question. Furthermore, Edo as the city which symbolizes Japanese traditional culture has been replaced by Tokyo, a city known for its westernized modernity. The fact that there is no longer a city officially named Edo points to a sense of loss and discontinuity. "Edo" as a non-existent place in the present is always in reference to the past. Its usage can evoke a nostalgic reimagination of Japan's traditional past, and therefore the *furusato* of Japan as a nation.

Within the local scope of Tokyo, Dorinne Kondo identifies a division between the somewhat ambiguous geographic boundaries of the *yamanote* (山の手) and the *Shitamachi,* which inform the cultural identities of the people within Tokyo (1990). Kondo suggests that these identities are a result of the geographic distributions between social classes during the Edo period. The western *yamanote* was the home of the aristocrats and samurai families, which eventually became the home for bureaucrats and white-collar professionals, and conjures the cultural image of the mainstream and modern ideal. On the other hand, the eastern *Shitamachi* was home to the merchants and artisans, and to this day is believed to be the home of a "traditional" and more "authentically Japanese" lifestyle (Kondo 1990:57–8). Those who are born into a family that has been rooted in the *Shitamachi* have been known as *Edokko* (child of Edo) and take great pride in their identity (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997:42).[43] Given that the

[43] See Nishiyama and Groemer 1997 for a detailed explanation on the history and qualities of the *Edokko* identity.

Edokko identity is still prevalent despite the fact that Edo no longer officially exists, I suggest that the *Shitamachi,* as the traditional area and birthplace of the *Edokko*, has come to represent "Edo" as the *furusato* of Tokyo.

The Wakayama family has had its roots in the *Shitamachi* area for at least four generations since the establishment of the *Wakayama Ryū* in the *Kuramae* district by the first *iemoto* Wakayama Kiyotane (Fish 1994:94). Wakayama's pride in is his *Edokko* heritage shows through his writings in the *tsuke.* Notable examples include the discussions of how the *matsuri-bayashi* of the countryside had been cleaned by the *Edokko* into a truly *Edomae* performing art, and explicitly writing that his birthplace was *Kuramae,* which was also listed in his definition of the location of Edo (Wakayama 1996:147–8). The identity of *Edokko* and the location of *Shitamachi* both lend to the traditional authenticity of the *Wakayama Ryū* and its repertory by virtue of association. In return, the continuity of the *Wakayama Ryū* and performances of its repertory at events such as the *Sanja Matsuri* become sites that evoke *furusato* which adds to the traditional authenticity of the *Edokko* and *Shitamachi.* This helps soothe the modern Japanese societal anxiety felt towards a sense of loss of traditional identity and continuity that has fueled the obsession with ideas such as *furusato*.[44]

By examining three pathways that function as modes of authenticating *Edo Bayashi* as a traditional Japanese performing art, I have demonstrated that these pathways are closely intertwined and mutually support each other in legitimating authenticity. Furthermore, these pathways provide a variety of authenticities with different meanings, some of which present conflicting views on the nature of traditional authenticity. However, these instances of paradoxes

[44] See Ivy 1995 for more details on modern Japanese identity.

do not negate each other, but rather point to the fluid nature of how authenticity can be legitimated, leaving it open to interpretation by the individual.

The following chapter expands the discussion to examine how the professional *kumidaiko* group Sukeroku Taiko has gone through similar processes of authenticating its newly invented artform. Furthermore, I exhibit how the close connections between the members of Sukeroku Taiko and the Wakayama Shachū resulted in the eventual transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States.

Chapter 3

The *Shitamachi* Network: Bridging Japan and the United States via *Kumidaiko*

This chapter constructs the intercultural history of the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* from Japan to the United States. Additionally, it discusses the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* within the United States to show how the study of the music began to proliferate. I suggest that, although the first instance of transmission to the United States had occurred in the early 1960s, a second instance of transmission began separately in the early 1990s and became the primary pathway responsible for the proliferation observed today. Furthermore, I argue that this primary pathway of transmission and proliferation was made possible through what I call the "*Shitamachi* network," an intricate network of relationships between performers of *Edo Bayashi*, *hōgaku*, and *kumidaiko*, that formed in the *Shitamachi* of Tokyo. Among these performers, the *kumidaiko* group Sukeroku Taiko played a significant role in the formation and expansion of the network to the United States. In this way, the intercultural history of *Edo Bayashi* must necessarily be understood from its relationship with the intercultural history of *kumidaiko*.

To show how the *Shitamachi* network aided in the transmission and proliferation of *Edo Bayashi* in the United States, I construct the history its formation through the historical relationships between *hōgaku* musicians and members of Sukeroku Taiko and Wakayama Shachū. I begin this chapter by providing a summary of the early history of Sukeroku Taiko to set the stage for the following discussion which attempts to map out how these connections developed. The formation of Sukeroku Taiko had been profoundly impacted by the study of *hōgaku* by the original members. These connections to *hōgaku* echo the discussions in chapter

two on the construction of traditional authenticity within the *Wakayama Ryū* through its similarities with *hōgaku.* Therefore, in order to understand the history between the two groups, we must also examine the connections that they share through *hōgaku*.

3.1 Sukeroku Taiko

3.1.1 The Formative Years

Sukeroku Taiko is one of three groups often considered to have pioneered the genre of *kumidaiko*.[45] Their performance style emerged out of the taiko playing during Bon festivals in the *Shitamachi* area of Tokyo during the 1950s. Bon is a Buddhist celebration held in late summer to celebrate the return of the deceased spirits to their homes, and is also one of the most widely celebrated festivals across Japan. In addition to the myriad of other practices observed during Bon season, the *bon odori* (盆踊り) is a popular communal dancing event. In the decade following WWII, these *bon odori* events were incredibly popular in the *Shitamachi* area, with at least one *bon odori* event happening in a nearby neighborhood every weekend during the summer (Mogi 2010:34).

Bon odori events are often centered around a *yagura* (櫓), a raised platform which acts as a stage for musicians to provide accompaniment for the dancers encircling below. In the past, the musical accompaniment was performed live by musicians. However, the live musical accompaniment was largely replaced by recordings after the war. Some speculate that this occurred because many of the musicians who could proficiently play the music had died during the war. During this time, the popular practice of performing the taiko along with these

[45] The other two groups credited are Osuwa Daiko and Ondekoza.

recordings emerged and continues to be practiced today. There seems to be no clear answer for why the taiko remained as the only instrument performed live, especially when taking into consideration that the sound of the taiko is already included in the recordings they accompanied (Bender 2012:53).

Consequently, the solo performance of the taiko on top of the *yagura* became the center of attention during these postwar *bon odori* events, often with several drummers taking turns on one medium sized drum on a diagonally slanted stand to accompany the recordings. The rhythms of this drumming were largely improvised, although there was a stylistic standard because of its role as the accompaniment to a recording, which limited the degree of improvisation (Pachter 2013:97–8). The style of taiko playing during these *bon odori* events came to be known as *bon daiko* (盆太鼓), which became increasingly popular among young men who sought to gain attention in their local communities. As their playing improved, these young *bon daiko* performers became increasingly competitive with each other. Through their competitiveness, they began devising new stylistic techniques and improvisations to make their unique playing style more flamboyant in an attempt to stand out more than the others. They even began to perform at other *bon odori* events outside of their local communities to gain recognition and practice experience. Some of the *bon daiko* performers of this era say that they could hear the sound of a taiko in the distance and immediately recognize who was playing (Mogi 2010:35).

As a result of the competitive nature of *bon daiko* at this time, an annual competition held at Yushima Tenjin shrine began in 1962. Kobayashi Seidō, Ishizuka Yutaka, Onozato Motoe, and Ishikura Yoshihisa, the four young men who eventually formed Sukeroku Taiko, routinely placed among the top five contestants during the first few competitions and became acquainted

with one another during this time. Because the opportunities to play *bon daiko* were limited to the summertime, these four joined a group called Ōedo Sukeroku Kai led by Kobayashi Seikō, the older brother of the first winner Kobayashi Seidō. This gave them the opportunities to practice together throughout the year, and through Seikō's leadership, they acquired the skills which helped them place in the top ranks of the competition each year (Bender 2012:56).

In 1966, Ishizuka answered an advertisement in the newspaper by Sanada Minoru, who was recruiting taiko players for the formation of a taiko performing group. Sanada was a western dancer and choreographer at a high-class nightclub called the Ginza Crown, who was attempting to create an exciting new performance using Japanese instruments to create a Japanese performing art that could be presented to the world (Mogi 2010:35). Sanada requested Ishizuka to invite his skilled *bon daiko* colleagues, which led Ishizuka to invite the other three members to perform in Sanada's productions (Bender 2012:57). Because Sanada could not teach them how to play the taiko, he sought out Kineya Sasazō, a *nagauta shamisen* (長唄三味線) professional. Although Kineya was a *shamisen* professional, he was also a skilled *hōgaku-hayashi* (邦楽囃子)[46] musician and was in charge of the *hōgaku* productions at the Asakusa International Theater at the time. Up until then, the four had only played their own unique styles of *bon daiko*, which made the study of *hōgaku-hayashi* under Kineya their first formalized study of music. In this way, the techniques and musical knowledge that they acquired while studying *hōgaku-hayashi* was instrumental in the development of the Sukeroku style (Mogi 2010:36).

After roughly three months, the group debuted under the name Shin On Taiko (新音太鼓

[46] *Hōgaku-hayashi* is a term used for percussion and flute ensembles (and the music they play) which often provide accompaniment to other performing arts such as *kabuki, bunraku, nihon buyō,* and *nagauta*.

"New Sound Taiko"). Despite their performance success and popularity, Shin On Taiko disbanded in less than a year after their debut. For the young performers (some of them still high school students at the time), the amount of work put into performing and the little money they earned in return became too much to handle. When they collectively chose to quit, they were quickly approached by Kowase Susume. Kowase was the son of Kineya and also a *shamisen* performer in Sanada's productions. Kowase had a talent for business and believed that a professional taiko group was possible with the proper management. With Kowase as their manager, Sukeroku Taiko began performing all over Tokyo and gained fame as the first professional taiko group.

3.1.2 Developing Connections with the United States

In 1968, Sukeroku Taiko was asked to accompany the singer Yukimura Izumi during her three month tour in the United States. By this time, Sukeroku Taiko had already grown in its membership, with multiple performing groups needed to be able to accommodate the influx of performance requests from all over Japan. Because they were already committed to several performances, only Ishizuka and three other members were able to go on the tour (Mogi 2010:39). During their month long performance stay in San Francisco, Ishizuka was approached by a Japanese immigrant named Tanaka Seiichi. Earlier that year, Tanaka had created an informal taiko playing club known as the San Francisco Taiko Dōkōkai, the first *kumidaiko* ensemble outside of Japan (Varian 2005:30). Tanaka had been so impressed by Sukeroku Taiko's performance that he asked Ishizuka every night to teach him how to play taiko. Although Ishizuka initially declined, he was impressed by Tanaka's persistence, and eventually agreed to

stay in San Francisco for two more weeks after the tour to teach. Because they had initially brought their taiko as a part of the tour, Ishizuka and the two others who remained could not take the equipment back on their own. When the time came to leave, they decided to leave all of the equipment with Tanaka (Mogi 2010:39).

By teaching Tanaka the fundamental techniques of Sukeroku Taiko's playing style and leaving the equipment with him, Ishizuka incidentally helped in establishing one of the foundational pillars for the development of taiko in the United States. Tanaka's club would later come to be known as the San Francisco Taiko Dojo, which would play an integral role in the proliferation of taiko playing throughout the United States. The friendship between Ishizuka and Tanaka continued, and their friendship bridged the two countries in the world of taiko (Mogi 2010:39).

3.1.3 The Break Up of the Original Sukeroku Taiko Members

Based on his experience during the tour in the United States, Ishizuka felt confident that Japanese music could be successfully performed out in the world and decided to devote himself to the study of *hōgaku.* (Mogi 2010:39). Soon after he returned, Ishizuka enrolled as a student of the *Mochizuki Ryū,* where he began formal training in the *hōgaku* genre of *kabuki bayashi*. In 1972 he received his *natori* as Mochizuki Saburō, and to this day continues to perform as a professional *hōgaku* musician. Additionally, Onozato had also decided to pursue *hōgaku-hayashi* and later received his *natori* as Tōsha Kiyonari in 1977. Onozato would later return to *kumidaiko* playing when he founded the Nihon Taiko Dōjō in 1993 (Mogi 2010:39,41).

Circa 1971, Ishizuka and Onozato had already left Sukeroku Taiko to pursue professional

hōgaku careers. Kobayashi was often too busy working in a separate business and could not participate in Sukeroku Taiko activities. When Ishikura quit in 1973, Sukeroku Taiko had lost the leadership of the four original members and had entered a state of disarray (ibid:40). Although Kowase had been the first to successfully turn the group into a professional entertainment group, Sukeroku Taiko began having financial difficulties due to his careless management of the group beyond the limits of what the performers could handle. These hard times were overcome through the leadership of Imaizumi Yutaka. Imaizumi was another champion *bon daiko* player who had joined shortly after the formation of Sukeroku Taiko. To prevent the Sukeroku style of taiko playing from complete dissolution, Imaizumi founded a group that was separate from the professional activities of Sukeroku Taiko, called the Sukeroku Taiko Hozonkai (Sukeroku Taiko preservation group). After some period of time Imaizumi eventually took over the management of Sukeroku Taiko from Kowase.[47] Kobayashi had also made the decision to become a full time performer and together they rectified the group.

The partnership between Imaizumi and Kobayashi had been successful and continued for several years. However, due to disagreements about the musical direction of the group, Kobayashi and Imaizumi ended their partnership and the group members split in 1982 (Kenny Endo, personal interview February 2019). Kobayashi formed a new group called Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko and Imaizumi kept the name of the original group as well as the *hozonkai*, although the

[47] Mogi dates the founding of the Sukeroku Taiko Hozonkai to 1974. On the other hand, Sukeroku Daiko's website dates the formation of Sukeroku Taiko Hozonkai to 1972, but states that Imaizumi was given the position as the representative of Sukeroku Taiko in 1974. Furthermore, they provide the date of 1977 for when Imaizumi was "officially" given position as the representative of Sukeroku Taiko from Kowase. (http://www.sukeroku-daiko.com/about/)

preferred English transliteration eventually changed to "Sukeroku Daiko" (Pachter 2013:132).[48] Both groups are still led by their respective leaders and continue to perform to this day.

Despite the tumultuous times that eventually fractured the group, Sukeroku Taiko had a tremendous impact on the world of *kumidaiko*. They demonstrated to the world that a professional taiko group was possible. Furthermore, they developed a sophisticated style of performance that emerged from their backgrounds as *bon daiko* and *hōgaku* musicians. With this brief overview of the history of Sukeroku Taiko as the framework, we can now begin to map out the network of connections that led to the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States.

3.2 Mapping the *Shitamachi* Network

Although the connections between Sukeroku Taiko, Wakayama Shachū, and *hōgaku* musicians that develop are not exclusively within the *Shitamachi*,[49] I have chosen to call it the "*Shitamachi* network" because the connections begin and have continued to expand with the *Shitamachi* as the center of activity. Furthermore, the importance of *Shitamachi* as a location associated with a more traditional lifestyle and strong sense of *Edokko* identity. As the foregoing history has demonstrated, the beginnings of Sukeroku Taiko can be traced back to the *bon daiko* practices and competitions that developed in the *Shitamachi*. All four original members were proud *Edokko* born and raised in the *Shitamachi*: Kobayashi from Hongo, Ishizuka from Yushima, Onozato from Iidabashi, and Ishikura from Koishikawa (Endo 1999: 11–3). In addition

[48] Based on this change in transliteration, I have chosen to use the name "Sukeroku Taiko" refer to the original group before the split and "Sukeroku Daiko" to refer to the group led by Imaizumi after the split.

[49] As mentioned in chapter two, the *Shitamachi* area is ambiguous in its geographic boundaries and may be defined differently by individuals. Due to mergers in the restructuring of Tokyo, some areas may be a part of a ward typically considered as *yamanote*, but may have sections within the ward that are considered *Shitamachi.* I have chosen to include all places that individuals have identified as part of the *Shitamachi* in this definition.

to this, the history of the *Wakayama Ryū* and the performances by the Wakayama Shachū have been rooted in the *Shitamachi*.

However, the earliest signs for the formation of the *Shitamachi* network can be traced to December of 1966, when Ishizuka responded to Sanada's newspaper advertisement and the four subsequently began rehearsing at the Ginza Crown in the following months. Sanada's introduction of the group to Kineya to study *hōgaku-hayashi* marks the beginning of the *Shitamachi* network. Although the connections between Sukeroku Taiko and Wakayama Shachū do not become more apparent until the 1970s, the *Shitamachi* network can already be observed through Kineya and his *hōgaku* connections. Upon returning from the 1968 tour, it was through Kineya that Ishizuka was introduced to his *hōgaku-hayashi* teacher Mochizuki Sakichi. As an established *hōgaku* musician, Mochizuki Sakichi had already been professionally acquainted with Wakayama through their *hōgaku* performances together.[50] Soon after Ishizuka began studying with Mochizuki Sakichi, he was introduced to Wakayama and began studying the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory under him for approximately twenty years (c.1969~1989). Even to this day, Wakayama and Ishizuka still perform *hōgaku* together on occasion (Ishizuka Eri, personal communication March 2019). Before making the decision to leave Sukeroku Taiko, there was a brief period of time in which Ishizuka was engaged in all three art forms.

3.2.1 Suzuki Kyōsuke

In the mid-1970s, Suzuki Kyōsuke became involved in the *Shitamachi* network, and subsequently became an important figure in the transmission of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory to

[50] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Wakayama Taneo as a *hōgaku* professional.

the United States. Originally from Wakayama prefecture, Suzuki initially came to Tokyo to study piano and music education at the Kunitachi College of Music. As a student, he began studying the recorder from his teacher Koinuma Hiroyuki. Around 1974, Koinuma had heard Wakayama performing the *shinobue* in a recording and enthusiastically rallied Suzuki and three other students to form an *Edo Bayashi* practice group and enrolled in the *Wakayama Ryū.* Although many of the members of this practice group eventually went their own way, Suzuki remained as a student of Wakayama and was quickly invited to become a part of the Wakayama Shachū.

In addition to being an excellent *shinobue* player, Suzuki had grown up watching his older brother play drum set and had an interest in drumming since a young age. In 1975, once again through the enthusiastic suggestion by Koinuma, Suzuki saw a performance of the *kumidaiko* group Ondekoza and was shocked by their performance. He encountered Ondekoza once more in 1976 while he was touring the United States as a musician for the Japan Folk Dance Troupe.[51] Fascinated by this style of taiko playing, Suzuki decided to begin training with Sukeroku Taiko under Kobayashi and Imaizumi when he returned from his tour. Although he never was an official member of Sukeroku Taiko, Suzuki often participated in their performances, especially during their peak performance seasons (Suzuki, personal communications summer 2017, spring 2018). Despite the direct connection between Sukeroku Taiko and Wakayama Shachū being severed when Ishizuka left to become a *hōgaku* professional, Suzuki had been the one who restored their connection during the latter half of the

[51] As a side note, Kenny Endo was a student when he had seen Suzuki perform at UCLA, although they had yet to meet each other.

1970s.

3.2.2 Kenny Endo

Perhaps the most crucial development of the *Shitamachi* network was the arrival of Kenny Endo to Tokyo in 1981. I believe he is largely responsible for establishing a lasting connection for the transmission of the *Wakayama Ryū* music to the United States. Endo was born 1953 in Los Angeles, where he had grown up playing the drums from a young age. Although he had occasionally encountered the playing of taiko at events such as Nisei Week in Little Tokyo, *kumidaiko* had not existed in the United States for most of his youth. Endo first encountered *kumidaiko* in 1973 when he witnessed a performance by the San Francisco Taiko Dojo[52] at an event held in San Jose called Bamboogie. Recalling this encounter, he remarked: "Being a musician, I was deeply impressed and intuitively knew this art would become my life's work" (Endo 1999:5). While he was a student at UCLA, he joined Kinnara Taiko in 1975.

Upon graduating the following year, Endo moved to San Francisco and spent the next four years studying *kumidaiko* with Tanaka. During this time, performances of taiko in the United States began to be seen as a way for Asian Americans to express ethnic identity during the Asian American movement (Yoon 2001:422). However, Endo increasingly began to question this idea of Asian American music:

[52] Although Endo refers to this encounter as having been performed by its current name of San Francisco Taiko Dojo, it is likely that they were still known by their former name of San Francisco Taiko Dōkōkai.

> I would go see some of these bands. They were Asians, but they were just playing cover tunes for soul groups, rock groups, or playing jazz. So if you closed your eyes, there was no Asian element. I always wondered, "Where's the asian element of Asian American music other than the fact that you're ethnically asian?" (Personal interview February 2019)

Around the same time, Endo had seen a *kabuki* performance of "Renjishi" when a group had come from Japan to perform in the United States. He was surprised by how different the music was from what he was learning at the San Francisco Taiko Dojo (Pachter 2013:272).

Influenced by these experiences, Endo decided to spend a year studying music in Japan. Through Tanaka's introductions, he first moved to Nagano prefecture in 1980 to study with Daihachi Oguchi[53] for several months. In the following year, Endo moved to Tokyo to study with Kobayashi and train with Sukeroku Taiko. During this time, Sukeroku Taiko had been using the upper level of Imaizumi's apartment for their rehearsals. While rehearsing at this space, Endo met and became friends with Suzuki, who was still occasionally coming to practice with the group. Although Endo had briefly heard from Suzuki about his other performing activities with the Wakayama Shachū, it was not Suzuki who initially introduced Endo to the study of the *Wakayama Ryū*

[53] Daihachi Oguchi has been widely credited as the first to pioneer the genre of *kumidaiko* when he formed Osuwa Daiko.

repertory (Endo, personal interview February 2019), despite Suzuki being the most apparent connection between the two groups.

Later that same year, Endo began studying *hōgaku-hayashi* with Ishizuka. At this point, a decade had already passed since Ishizuka parted ways with Sukeroku Taiko to become a *hōgaku-hayashi* professional. Upon beginning his studies with Ishizuka, Endo realized that he was going to be in Japan for much longer than a year. Through Ishizuka's recommendation, Endo went to see a concert that showcased various *matsuri-bayashi* performances from around Japan. Incidentally, the concert included a performance by Wakayama Shachū, which made it his initial encounter with them. Because Ishizuka had already been studying the *Wakayama Ryū* under Wakayama for several years, he began to teach Endo the drumming patterns for *Edo Bayashi.* However, Endo's studies of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory truly began the following year when Ishizuka introduced him to Maru Kenjirō.[54] Ishizuka and Maru were friends, and like their respective *hōgaku* teachers, they also often performed *hōgaku* together. From 1982 until he left Japan in 1990, Endo continued to study how to play the *shinobue* as well as the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory with Maru.

As for his studies in *hōgaku-hayashi*, Endo was introduced to Mochizuki Chōsaku V by Ishizuka and began studying under him in 1984. This consequently occurred due to Ishizuka's decision to relocate to Saitama prefecture, although Endo did continue to study with Ishizuka on occasion. Endo received the *natori* of Mochizuki Chōji in 1987, making

[54] As briefly mentioned in chapter two, Maru Kenjirō was long considered to be Wakayama's right hand man in the Wakayama Shachū who had also received the *natori* of Hōsei Harumitsu.

him the first foreigner ever to receive a *natori* in *hōgaku-hayashi*. Due to complications dealing with succession, Mochizuki Chōsaku temporarily became the *iemoto* of the *Mochizuki Ryū* in 1988 and received the *iemoto* name Mochizuki Tazaemon XI. Because the names received by students are often based on the characters in the name of the teacher, Endo received the new name of Mochizuki Tajirō in 1988. However, when Mochizuki Tazaemon XI became Mochizuki Bokusei IV in 1993 after being succeeded by another *iemoto*, his students did not change their names (Endo, personal interview February 2019). Mochizuki Bokusei was subsequently designated as a "Living National Treasure" in 1998.

It had only been roughly a year since Endo arrived in Tokyo to study when the Sukeroku Taiko break up occurred in 1982. Because Endo was initially introduced into the group through Tanaka's relationship with Kobayashi, he followed Kobayashi and helped form Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko as one of the four original members, along with Miyauchi Yukihiro and Kaneko Masamichi. After the split, Suzuki maintained a closer association with Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko and continued to occasionally performed with the group. Endo performed as a professional member of Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko for six years until he decided to become an independent artist in 1987. As a solo artist, Endo continued to frequently collaborate with Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko as well as individual artists including Ishizuka, Maru and Suzuki (Endo, personal interview February 2019).

Through Endo's influence, many of the original members of Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko began studying the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory under Suzuki and Maru. At one point, the members who had been studying with Maru performed *Edo Bayashi* during a Ōedo

Sukeroku Taiko new year party. In 1983, Endo and Kobayashi began studying the dance movements for the *Wakayama Ryū Kotobuki Jishi* (celebratory lion dance) with Suzuki over the course of four months. After listening to Endo practice the *shinobue*, Miyauchi also became interested and began to study *Edo Bayashi* with Maru. Miyauchi was also later introduced to Mochizuki Tazaemon XI and began his studies (Endo, personal interview February 2019). In 1986, Miyauchi left Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko to establish his own group Wakon Daiko, and later received his *natori* of Mochizuki Tawamori in 1990. Today, Wakon Daiko also performs *Kotobuki Jishi* (http://www.wakon.biz/profile.html).[55]

With the history and connections within Japan outlined in this section, the following section examines how these connections have enabled the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States. Additionally, I begin by examining the earliest known case of *Edo Bayashi* transmission to show that Endo was not the first person to bring *Edo Bayashi* to the United States, but rather he was the first to proliferate the study of the music.

3.3 The Transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States

3.3.1 William Malm and Early Transmission within Academia

The earliest known case of the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States was through ethnomusicologist William P. Malm. Malm was possibly the first non-Japanese to have studied *Edo Bayashi* (see Chapter 1.1.4) Malm first went to Japan to study as a graduate student

[55] There is no clear information provided about who they learned the dance for *Kotobuki Jishi* from, although it is likely that Miyauchi learned the music from Maru, which would likely imply that it is *Wakayama Ryū Kotobuki Jishi*.

in 1955, where Kishibe Shigeo from the University of Tokyo had selected a handful of music teachers to study under. Through Kishibe, Malm was subsequently introduced to Tanaka Denzaemon XI to study *hōgaku-hayashi.* After graduating with his Ph.D in musicology from UCLA in 1959, he began teaching at the University of Michigan in 1960 and formed a *nagauta* ensemble that premiered on May 21st, 1962. When he returned to Japan in the summer of 1963 to take *gidayū*[56] lessons, he also began taking *Edo Bayashi* lessons from Wakayama Taneo. There he had memorized all of the basic drumming patterns for the *kihon kyoku* of *Edo Bayashi* without actually ever playing on a drum. Due to his relatively short time studying *Edo Bayashi* with Wakayama, he was never able to perform during a student recital in Japan.

Upon returning home, Malm was able to purchase a complete set of *Edo Bayashi* instruments made by Miyamoto Unosuke Shōten with funding provided by the Michigan Center for Japanese Studies. He began training his students in the same manner that Wakayama had taught him, using mnemonics and the beating of leather-covered fans known as *haruōgi*. Wakayama had also allowed him to record some of their lessons, which supported its transmission. Together with the students he trained, they debuted their first *Edo Bayashi* performance on November 21st, 1964 (Malm, personal communication February 2019).

This performance is most likely to have been the first case of a performance of *Edo Bayashi* by non-Japanese, and may also be the first performance of *Edo Bayashi* outside of Japan.[57] Malm taught for over 34 years at the University of Michigan and performed his last concert of Japanese music in 1994. He continued to teach even after his retirement and his legacy

[56] *Gidayū* is a genre of narrative *shamisen* playing for a puppet-theatre genre known as *jōruri.*
[57] Wakayama Shachū has toured the United States in the past, though records of their early tours are scarce. The oldest record I have found is of a performance at the Lincoln Center in 1971, although it seems that they performed *Edo Sato Kagura* and *Kotobuki Jishi*, with no indication of an *Edo Bayashi* performance.

can be observed through the influence he had on a number of his students who subsequently continued Japanese music performance and scholarship.[58]

It seems that the transmission and performance of *Edo Bayashi* never left the University of Michigan, as it seems there are no *Edo Bayashi* groups to have emerged from his students, nor any evidence to show a connection between current groups and Malm. Thus Malm remained the source of transmission within his immediate university community. When Malm retired from his position at the university in 1994, the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* eventually ceased. With no successors to maintain and transmit the music, the instruments were also retired and brought with him to his home.

3.3.2 Kenny Endo and The Honolulu Festival

Endo moved from Tokyo to Honolulu in August of 1990 to pursue a degree in ethnomusicology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. When Endo returned to the United States, he brought with him his knowledge and personal connections that he had developed over the ten years spent in Japan as a professional taiko artist and *hōgaku-hayashi* musician. He recorded several albums, directed his own taiko ensembles, and toured around the world, making a name for himself as one of the most widely known independent taiko artists in the United States. In 1994, together with his wife Chizuko Endo, they established a school for traditional and contemporary Japanese drumming called the Taiko Center of the Pacific (“TCP”). Over the years, TCP has attracted many aspiring taiko artists to study with Endo, many of whom have

[58] Malm’s students who continued with the study of Japanese music include David Hughes, David Crandel, and David Fish. Fish’s dissertation has largely influenced the writings in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

subsequently pursued professional careers as taiko artists. As a teacher, Endo cultivated a generative learning environment for taiko in Honolulu. His presence established a central node of the *Shitamachi* network in the United States, strengthening the connections between Japanese and American taiko artists. I suggest that this environment became the primary entry point for the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* from Japan to the United States. However, it is only in recent years that the impact of these connections have begun to be observable in other parts of the country.

The Honolulu Festival is the largest annual festival in Hawaii, attracting nearly 80,000 spectators over the course of the three day event.[59] It is perhaps the first (and possibly only) event in which *Edo Bayashi* has been performed in the United States for the music's original purpose of providing accompaniment for a Japanese *matsuri*. The festival has been a culturally diverse event said to be held for the sake of promoting the cultures of the Pacific Rim countries. This would seemingly make correlating the festival with a *matsuri* misguided. However, the festival has a history of having primarily served as an event promoting the Japanese tourism industry in Hawaii, and has predominantly featured Japanese participants and their cultures since its inauguration in 1995.

For the first thirteen years of the festival (1995–2007), the officially recognized participating groups had come exclusively from Japan.[60][61] In 2019, the 25th Honolulu Festival listed a total of 122 official participating groups from Pacific Rim countries that were presented:

[59] JTB Hawaii. https://www.jtb-hawaii.com/about/ (accessed April 4, 2019)
[60] Information based on archives from Honolulu Festival webpage. https://www.honolulufestival.com/en/report/ (accessed April 4, 2019)
[61] Although there were some local groups from Hawaii that had participated in the festival, they were not officially recognized as participants until the 14th Honolulu Festival held in 2008.

80 from Japan, 34 from Hawaii, and 8 from other countries.[6263] The location that these groups come from do not necessarily reflect the cultural diversity represented. A majority of overall cultural diversity in the festival was represented by local groups in Hawaii, although a majority of them represented Japanese culture. Meanwhile, more than a quarter of the groups from Japan were hula groups.[64] Ironically, there were no local hula groups from Hawaii. While the festival does seem to have diversified the represented cultures over time, it still remains an event held primarily for Japanese tourists and local Japanese culture groups.

The Honolulu Festival was initially made possible largely through the planning and corporate sponsorship of the JTB Corporation (JTB). Formerly known as the Japan Travel Bureau, JTB is the largest travel agency in Japan, making it also one of the largest travel agencies in the world. JTB opened its Honolulu offices in 1964 as the first Japanese travel agency to establish a presence in Hawaii,[65] and has been largely influential on Japanese tourism and Japanese cultural promotion in Hawaii and the mainland United States.

For the first few years of the Honolulu Festival, the atmosphere was much like a *matsuri* in Japan (Chizuko Endo, personal communication March 2019). To emulate the atmosphere of a *matsuri*, participants carried *mikoshi* during the parade. With the help of JTB, Endo was able to purchase a set of *Edo Bayashi* instruments to perform *Edo Bayashi* as an accompaniment to the *mikoshi* carrying during the festival parade. Endo had already been teaching *Edo Bayashi* at the

[62] https://www.honolulufestival.com/en/group/?_eventdate=25th (accessed April 4, 2019)
[63] Of the three groups from Canada, two were ethnically Japanese performers, while the group listed under South Korea were students from Korean an international school in Tokyo that primarily caters to ethnic Koreans born in Japan. Oddly enough a group from Poland was listed, despite their presentation being neither culturally or geographically representative of the Pacific Rim countries.
[64] The two groups from China and Taiwan were also both hula groups.
[65] JTB Hawaii. https://www.jtb-hawaii.com/about/ (accessed April 4, 2019)

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa as well as to his taiko students, and recruited some of them to perform during the festival. Additionally, Endo invited his teacher Maru, as well as Suzuki, to perform during the festival. The Honolulu Festival was most likely the first time that *Edo Bayashi* was performed in the United States for the purpose of musical accompaniment for the festival and carrying the *mikoshi*.

Many of Endo's students who had studied *Edo Bayashi* with him have subsequently left and continued their study of *Edo Bayashi* in various pockets throughout the mainland United States. Furthermore, he has gone on numerous workshop tours that have included *Edo Bayashi* workshops, where many were first introduced to the music.

3.3.3 Suzuki Kyosuke and the North American Taiko Conference

Suzuki Kyosuke continued to collaborate in performances with Endo, but his activities in the United States eventually began to shift from the role of a performer with Endo, to the role as an expert teacher and performer of *Edo Bayashi* and *Kotobuki Jishi.* In 1997, the first biennual North American Taiko Conference (NATC) was held, making it the largest taiko gathering outside of Japan. Here, Suzuki came to be a performer with the Kenny Endo Taiko Ensemble. However, he had also given an *Edo Bayashi* and *shinobue* playing workshop during the conference, assisted by Endo as his interpreter. While an *Edo Bayashi* workshop at the largest taiko gathering in North America was certainly a landmark event, its impact could only be felt by a small handful of workshop participants. However, in 2011, Suzuki would participate in NATC again, this time giving a performance of the *Kotobuki Jishi* during the main concert. Many attribute this performance to be what led to Suzuki's recognition in the United States as an expert

traditional artist (Chizuko Endo, personal communication March 2019). While the *Kotobuki Jishi* is a separate part of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory from *Edo Bayashi*, much of the musical content is based on *Edo Bayashi*. In many ways, *Edo Bayashi* is a necessary foundation for the study of *Kotobuki Jishi*. In order to learn the dance, one must understand the music for *Kotobuki Jishi*, and in order to understand the music, one must first study *Edo Bayashi.* Thus, the widespread appeal for the study of the *Kotobuki Jishi* dance from the performance at the 2011 NATC, can also be said to have created the necessity to study *Edo Bayashi*.

3.3.4 Eien Hunter-Ishikawa and the New Generation

Suzuki subsequently gave several more workshops teaching *Edo Bayashi* and *Kotobuki Jishi* throughout the United States. However, Suzuki's recent workshops in the United States have been facilitated by Eien Hunter-Ishikawa, who has taken up a leadership role in the proliferation of *Edo Bayashi*.

Hunter-Ishikawa was born in Saitama prefecture of Japan, and studied with a youth group run by Ishizuka from a young age. From Ishizuka he learned *Edo Bayashi* as well as Sukeroku Taiko repertory. During this time he first met Endo during a joint performance with members of Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko in 1985 (Eien Hunter-Ishikawa, personal communication February 2019). He later moved to Honolulu and studied taiko and *Edo Bayashi* with Endo for several years before moving to the U.S. mainland.

Hunter-Ishikawa has since become one of Suzuki's most devout students, often acting as an interpreter for Suzuki during his workshop tours around the United States. He also provides *Edo Bayashi* and *Kotobuki Jishi* lessons and workshops for groups all over the United States,

helping to grow the interest in the study. For many non-Japanese speakers, Hunter-Ishikawa has become the primary source of knowledge and information that has made the study more accessible.

3.4 The Impact of the *Shitamachi* Network

By the time Kenny Endo left Tokyo and moved to Honolulu in 1990, the span of the *Shitamachi* network had already reached far beyond its origins in the *Shitamachi.* The countless connections already made by the mid-1980s have only continued to become more intricate as time has passed. Although it is evident that Endo played a major role in the *Shitamachi* network, Endo's participation would not have been possible if the connections had not already been established.

In a roundabout way, it was through a former member of Sukeroku Taiko who had been long retired from the group that allowed Endo to strengthen the connections in the *Shitamachi* network. In a sense, Ishizuka exemplified that it was *hōgaku* musicians that once again facilitated the connection between the Wakayama Shachū and Sukeroku Taiko, just as his teacher Mochizuki Sakichi had done in the past. This perspective can be understood by examining what led Endo to study with Ishizuka. Having been impacted by the *kabuki* performance that he saw, Endo had already intended to study *hōgaku* prior to arriving in Japan. Consequently, it was Tanaka who had provided Endo with the initial introduction to Ishizuka to study *hōgaku-hayashi*, along with the introductions to Kobayashi and Oguchi to study *kumidaiko*. Despite the initial establishment of the relationship between Tanaka and Ishizuka through *kumidaiko* during the time Sukeroku

Taiko traveled to the United States, it was through his desire to study *hōgaku-hayashi* that compelled Endo to seek out Ishizuka.

This might imply that during this time, the primary role that Ishizuka fulfilled within the *Shitamachi* network had transformed over time from his role as a *kumidaiko* performer to that of a *hōgaku* musician. However, Ishizuka continued to participate in *kumidaiko* even after he moved away from Tokyo. Ishizuka has taught Sukeroku style *kumidaiko* playing to youth and adult groups. His three children have all become professional *kumidaiko* performers that have studied *hōgaku-hayashi*, and they continue to expand and strengthen the connections of the *Shitamachi* network.

In discussing the history of transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States, there were earlier cases of the music present prior to Endo, such as Malm's group at the University of Michigan. However, despite the longevity of this group, the performance practice and transmission stayed within the confines of the university. I suggest that a major difference was that Endo brought the music into a pre-existing community of taiko players. In addition to this, Endo brought with him the connections that he had made with members of the Wakayama Shachū during his time in Japan, which led to the widespread acknowledgement of the music and its practitioners such as Suzuki at events such as the North American Taiko Conference. Finally, the efforts by individuals such as Endo, Suzuki, and Hunter-Ishikawa in the proliferation of the music, was facilitated by the fact that many of those whom they were teaching already had the instruments and fundamental skills that were necessary to be able to perform this music due to the similarities between the practices of *Edo Bayashi* and *kumidaiko*.

In the next chapter, we begin to examine the musical characteristics of *Edo Bayashi* in order to show how the study of this music has impacted the creation of new taiko compositions in the United States.

Chapter 4

Rediscovering Traditional Authenticity in Taiko Through *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi*

The focus of this chapter is on the discussion of *Edo Bayashi* in the United States and its influence on the broader performing art of taiko. The impact of *Edo Bayashi* on taiko performers in the United States can be readily observed through the growing number of individuals interested in the study of the music. However, there are also numerous musical influences that can be observed.

To understand the musical influences of *Edo Bayashi,* the musical practices and characteristics of *Edo Bayashi* must first be discussed. I begin this chapter with an overview of the structure and musical characteristics of *Edo Bayashi*, followed by a musical analysis of "Shichōme" to serve as a reference for subsequent comparison. I have selected "Symmetrical Soundscapes" by Kenny Endo, and "Meguri" by Hiroshi Tanaka, as examples of taiko compositions to compare with the *kihon kyoku* piece "Shichōme" to showcase the musical influences that *Edo Bayashi* had on their creation. Finally, I theorize reasons why these practices may be occurring and what the broader implication of such practice may mean for taiko in the United States.

4.1 Musical Characteristics of *Edo Bayashi*

4.1.1 Instruments and Specifications

To begin, we must examine the instruments used and the roles that they play in the

ensemble. The *hayashi* for *Edo Bayashi* is made up of five performers, each of whom are assigned a single instrument in the ensemble during a performance, although they often trade parts in between performance sets. The instruments used are: two *shime-daiko* (締太鼓), one *ō-daiko* (大太鼓), one *atarigane* (当り鉦), and one *shinobue* . The *shime-daiko* is a lashed drum with a high pitch. The name comes from the verb *shimeru* (締める), which means "to tighten." The name *ō-daiko* can be somewhat of a misnomer. For those familiar with the name, it generally conjures the popularized image of a very large taiko, often three feet in diameter or larger. The "*ō*" in *ō-daiko* does indeed mean "large," however size is always relative, and in the case of *Edo Bayashi*, the term simply implies that it is larger than the *shime-daiko*. The taiko are struck by sticks called *bachi* (桴 or 枹). The *atarigane*, sometimes called a *kane* or *chanchiki*, is a small brass gong that is primarily held in the hand and struck by a mallet made of deer antler and bamboo called a *shumoku.* The *shinobue*, is a flute made of a type of bamboo known as *shinodake,* where it gets its name from. It is the only melodic instrument in the ensemble, and primarily plays within the higher registers.

This is the most basic explanation for these instruments. But as we have learned from chapter two, Wakayama had high aesthetic standards, and there are instrument specifications given in the *tsuke* that match these standards as well. *Shimedaiko* come in a variety of sizes and skin thickness.[66] The Wakayama Shachū specify their *shime-daiko* size as *sanchōgake* and that the heads used should be made from cowhide which comes from the soft skin on the back of the animal. The rope used to fasten the skins should be made of hemp that has been dyed into the

[66] These five general categories are (from smallest to biggest): *namizuke, nichōgake, sanchōgake, yonchōgake, gochōgake.*

Japanese traditional color known as *shu*, which is translated into english as cinnabar-color. The body the *shime-daiko* and *ō-daiko* should be made from a single piece of hollowed out *keyaki* (欅 "zelkova") and should be lacquered with black *urushi*.[67] The *ō-daiko* should have a *maki-e,* a decorative lacquer painting often made of sprinkled gold. The center of the heads of each drum should have a lacquered circular symbol known as the *ja no me* (蛇目 "snake eye"). The *shinobue* size/tuning should be a six and a half, which means that its fundamental pitch is between a Bb and B in western tuning. As the only melodic instrument, the *shinobue* has more emphasis placed on tone color and sound quality than the pitches that it plays (Wakayama 1996:136–41). [68] Although not written in the *tsuke*, I have been told by my teachers that only *bachi* made from *hinoki* (檜 "Japanese cypress") should be used to perform *Edo Bayashi*, as *hinoki* has long held religious association in Shinto as "the tree closest to the gods." Surely this music can be (and has been) played using instruments without such stringent specifications. However, having such specification for these instruments does place emphasis on the high level of artistry within the Wakayama Shachū.

4.1.2 Hierarchy Within a Performance

Among these instruments there is somewhat of a hierarchy that shifts from piece to piece. However, for the two *shime-daiko* players there is an established relationship. The *tate* player sitting in the center of the ensemble is the leader of the percussion, while the *waki* player next to them should always play a subordinate role.[69] Although the *tate* player is the leader, in the sense

[67] *Urushi* is a type of lacquer derived from the toxic sap of the Japanese lacquer trees, and commonly used in many Japanese crafts.
[68] There does seem to be an aesthetic standard for relative intonation. Perhaps it may be a subject for future research.
[69] The only exception to this would be during the *ato dama* section of "*Shichōme*."

that they set and maintain control over the feeling between the percussion instruments, the *shinobue* player is actually the leader of the overall ensemble and has the privilege of playing freely. The *shinobue* gives melodic cues that dictate the direction of the performance. In the most basic arrangements, this most often means that they will play a cue that will tell the ensemble to stop repeating a section and continue on to the next. However, at the more complex levels of performance by the Wakayama Shachū, the *shinobue* player can dictate the entire sequence of pieces during a performance.

4.1.3 Variation and Improvisation

Here we begin to see that *Edo Bayashi*, as seemingly strict and regimented, is actually variable or even improvisatory in nature. In fact, I have often heard both Endo and Suzuki drawing parallels between *Edo Bayashi* and jazz. It is difficult to draw the line between variation and improvisation in this music. For one thing, improvising/playing variations are not something that a student is permitted to do until they have mastered the basics of the pieces. Often times the musicians in Wakayama Shachū have been playing together for several decades, and what may have begun as a genuine improvisation may have developed into a loosely standardized variation. Furthermore, as much freedom as the musicians have, there are certain aesthetic guidelines that they must work within to keep the stylistic character of the music. Suzuki and Endo share similar stories recounting their first times improvising during an *Edo Bayashi* performance. Because their approaches to improvisation were strongly influenced by their *kumidaiko* experiences, both were subsequently criticized by their teachers for not improvising in a stylistically appropriate way. Thus, students may be able to musically improvise through the

selective use of idiomatic phrases, but these idioms themselves can be understood as a kind of variation.[70]

4.1.4 Musical Categorization within *Edo Bayashi*

The *tsuke* divides the *Edo Bayashi* repertory into three categories: *kihon kyoku, hikyoku,* and *nageai*. The *kihon kyoku* (fundamental pieces) are sometimes also colloquially referred to as "*hitoppayashi*" (one *hayashi*) within the *Wakayama Ryū*. These are the five primary pieces most often performed. The *hikyoku* (secret pieces) are a separate collection of pieces that are less frequently performed. Often times schools of Japanese traditional music will have *hikyoku* pieces that will only be taught to students once they have proven their dedication and skill to their teacher. However, Wakayama has chosen to publish the *hikyoku* along with the *tsuke*, although the possibility that there are more *hikyoku* pieces that continue to be kept as secrets still remains. The *kihon kyoku* and the *hikyoku* can be performed as independent suites, but they may also be played together in a variety of combinations with the *hikyoku* pieces acting as musical interludes between the main *kihon kyoku* pieces. However, when played as independent suites, the *kihon kyoku* pieces always have a set sequence,[71] whereas the *hikyoku* need to be arranged prior to performance. When playing a combination of pieces, it is necessary for the percussionists to listen and recognize all of the musical cues given by the *shinobue* player, as they will dictate which path the ensemble will take during the performance. Because the ensemble members sit and face forward during performance with no means of visual or spoken communication,

[70] For more readings on improvisation and variation in *Edo Bayashi*, see (Malm 1975).

[71] Although the general sequence of the pieces are set for the most part, there are variations that enable sections to be skipped, repeated, or modified.

fundamental changes, such as the sequence of pieces being performed, requires that the performers have enough background knowledge and experience to know what possible outcomes there may be from the musical cues they are receiving.

Finally, the *nageai* is actually a set of patterns that are continually played when accompanying the *mikoshi* carrying, and therefore it may sometimes be referred to as *mikoshi bayashi*. Unlike the other two, it is not a collection of pieces, but rather separated by its function and context as accompaniment. However, it is musically based on "Shichōme" patterns and melodies, although structured differently, and could easily be argued that *nageai* is just an arrangement or variation of "Shichōme." Due to the long and repetitive nature of *nageai* as accompaniment, "Shichōme" may be the most recognizable piece for those who have attended the festivals in Tokyo.

4.1.5 An Overview of *Kihon Kyoku* Pieces

I have yet to hear of any groups in the United States who perform any of the *hikyoku* pieces during their *Edo Bayashi* performance, as learning the *kihon kyoku* alone is quite an undertaking already. The focus of this thesis will remain on the *kihon kyoku* pieces. Below is a table of the *kihon kyoku* pieces, the instruments they feature, and brief descriptions of their characteristic qualities.

Title:	Instrument Featured:	Characteristics
"Yatai"	All instruments	-Begins with *Tate* player -Slow introduction -Gradually speeds up over several repetitions of a set section

		-Suddenly slows down after the *shinobue* provides the cue to end the piece
"Shōden"	*Shinobue, Ō-daiko*	-Begins with *Shinobue* player -Generally slow without speeding up -*Shinobue* is free to repeat several cycles, as long as they do not repeat their melodic variations -*Ō-daiko* is free to improvise, but should not be rhythmically dense -*Shimedaiko* are sparse and play a repeated pattern -*Kane* plays a light but rhythmically dense repeated pattern and acts as the timekeeper of the ensemble
"Kamakura"	*Shinobue, Ō-daiko*	-Similar in character to "Shōden" but even slower and more sparse -The patterns and melodies played are different from "Shōden" -The end of "Kamakura" continues into "Shichōme" without stopping
"Shichōme"	*Shimedaiko*	-Speeds up from the end of "Kamakura" -Fast tempo with syncopated drumming patterns -Features solo sections for the *shime-daiko* players (*saki dama, ato dama*) -*Shinobue* provides cue to end the piece
"Yatai"	All instruments	-Recapitulation of first "Yatai" but with fewer repetitions and quicker acceleration of tempo

Table 2: Kihon kyoku piece in Edo Bayashi

4.2 Musical Analysis

4.2.1 "Shichōme"

The *Edo Bayashi* piece that best showcases the technique of the drummers is "Shichōme," as the *shime-daiko* plays fast and syncopated patterns and both players have featured solo sections known as *tama*. In this way, "Shichōme" may be the most appealing to taiko drummers through its challenges and improvisational freedom. For these reasons, I have selected "Shichōme" as the piece to transcribe and use as a reference to examine the musical

influence of *Edo Bayashi* on new taiko music. Due to the highly variable/improvisatory nature of *Edo Bayashi*, I have used the *kihon kyoku* recording that accompanies the *tsuke* as a comparative reference, as it has become somewhat of the standard in recent years. I have provided a full transcription of "Shichōme" from this recording in Appendix A of this thesis. To begin the analysis, I provide a basic outline of the form of "Shichōme" (see Table 2).

"Shichōme"					
Intro	*Jō**[72]	(0:00–0:14)		*Ōdaiko*	(1:18–1:20)
	Ichi no Kakari	(0:15–0:29)		*Ni no Kakari*	(1:21–1:25)
First *Shichōme*	*Ji* (x 3)	(0:30–0:39)	**Second *Shichōme***	*Ji* (x 3)	(1:26–1:32)
	Te	(0:40–0:43)		*Te*	(1:33–1:35)
	Ji (x 3)	(0:44–0:50)		*Ji* (x 3)	(1:36–1:41)
	Tome	(0:51–0:53)		*Tome*	(1:41–1:43)
	Tama no Kakari	(0:54–0:58)		*Tama no Kakari*	(1:44–1:48)
***Saki Dama* Section**	*Tama no Ji*	(0:59–1:01)	***Ato Dama* Section**	*Tama no Ji*	(1:49–1:50)
	Saki Dama (Tate)/ Tama no Ji (Waki)	(1:01–1:13)		*Ato Dama (Waki)/ Tama no Ji (Tate)*	(1:51–2:17)
	(Tama no Kakari)*	(1:14–1:17)		*(Tama no Kakari*)*	(2:18–2:21)
			Ending	*Age*	(2:22–2:40)

Table 3: A form outline of "Shichōme" (read top to bottom, left to right)

There are a couple of important things to note about this outline. Firstly, although the entire piece is titled "Shichōme" in the *kihon kyoku*, there are also subsections within the piece that have the same name.[73] Secondly, the sections labeled as (*Tama no Kakari**) after the *saki dama* and *ato dama* are not actually called as such in the *tsuke*, as *kakari* is a term generally used to describe

[72] See transcription notes for Appendix A.1

[73] In the *tsuke*, Wakayama describes possible arrangements that include the *hikyoku* which enable the *saki dama* to be played before the *shichōme* section, although I have yet to personally come across a performance of this, or have failed to recognize it as such.

the music which comes before something. I have chosen to include my own labels because they are indeed musically the same, which is useful in the comparative analysis. However it may be better to consider their function as more of an ending of the *tama,* or perhaps even a returning section which can be used as a starting point for various pathways based on what the *shinobue* plays.[74] In this sense, all of the *kakari* sections (*ichi no kakari, ni no kakari, tama no kakari*) may be considered to come before each labeled section, however I have included them under the broader section for the sake of clarity.

With the above section having provided a general overview of the musical characteristics of *Edo Bayashi* as well as an outline of the structure of "Shichōme," I now examine examples of taiko compositions that have utilized the musical content found in "Shichōme."

4.2.2 "Symmetrical Soundscapes" by Kenny Endo

Perhaps one of the most influential compositions in the taiko world is Kenny Endo's "Symmetrical Soundscapes." Endo had originally written this piece in 1985 while he was still a member of Ōedo Sukeroku Taiko. It began as a duet between two drummers with very limited instrumentation, but has subsequently expanded into a flexible composition with variable arrangements based on the number of performers and instruments available. In this way, "Symmetrical Soundscapes" can actually be played by percussionist from a variety of backgrounds as it does not require the stylistic performance practices that generally set taiko apart from other percussion styles. As there a numerous recordings available that show a variety

[74] It is also possible that a third *tama* called *san no tama* may also be played after the *ato dama* if the *shinobue* does not give the cue for the *age*.

of instrumentation and arrangements, I have selected Endo's 1994 studio recording from the album *Eternal Energy* as a basis for the analysis.

The piece is divided into two separate sections, with each section featuring both composed rhythmic sequences and improvisatory sections. The first half of the piece begins sparsely and gradually increases in tempo and density (0:00–4:15). It primarily features a series of interlocking rhythms played by two separate players. These rhythms are based on patterns from *hōgaku-hayashi* played by the *ōtsuzumi* and *kotsuzumi* hand drums.[75] However, the primary focus of this analysis is on the second section, which clearly contrasts with the first section in terms of both performance technique and musical feel.

After a brief pause at the end of the first section, the second section suddenly begins with a loud and fast pattern unlike anything previously heard in the piece (4:16). In contrast with the mysterious atmosphere of the first section, the second section is lively and playful in nature. The beginning of the second section is primarily composed by the juxtaposition of patterns derived from Brazilian samba music and *Edo Bayashi*, which are unified by their performing contexts as festival music. Both musics feature fast syncopated patterns, which allows for them to be blended without disjunction. After the opening samba pattern has been traded between the performers, we see the first clear introduction of *Edo Bayashi* patterns borrowed from "*Shichōme*" (see figure #1).

[75] Pachter has provided a musical analysis of this composition in his 2013 dissertation. However, his focus remained primarily on the *hōgaku-hayashi* influences, although he does provide one musical example of a pattern borrowed from *Edo Bayashi*. This thesis expands upon his analysis by focusing primarily on the analysis of the *Edo Bayashi* patterns that he has omitted.

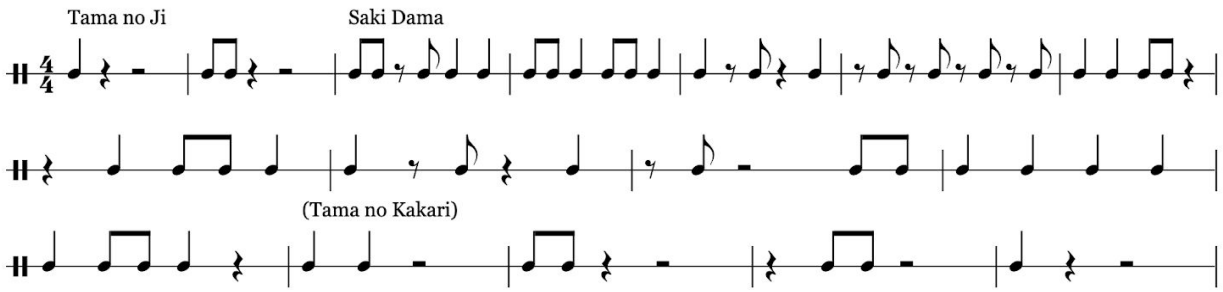


Figure #1: Section of "Symmetrical Soundscapes" which feature three patterns borrowed from "Shichōme"

Here we see three patterns from the *saki dama* section of "Shichōme" that have been directly incorporated into the piece: *tama no ji*, *saki dama*, and *tama no kakari* (4:34–4:47). In "Shichōme" only the *tate* player performs the *saki dama* while the *waki* player continues to play the *tama no ji*, and both of them only use the *shime-daiko*. On the other hand, the performers in "Symmetrical Soundscapes" play all of these patterns in unison, and have the freedom to play whatever drum within their reach. However there are certain patterns which tend to emphasize the use of the *shime-daiko*, and in the case of this recording, these patterns are the first and last three measures of *saki dama*.

In the section that follows after the *tama no kakari* pattern, there is an extended improvised solo section in which each player trades solos that progressively get shorter (4:47–5:33). During this time, the performer who is not playing the solo will support the soloist by playing the *tama no ji* pattern, in the same way as the two *shime-daiko* players during the *tama* sections in "Shichōme." Although it can not be heard in this recording of "Shichōme," the *tama no ji* during the *tama* will sometimes be played in a way that the performers will play very soft eighth notes to help keep the time called the *kizami,* which means to cut into pieces (figure

#2).[76] The same *kizami* can also be seen and heard in the performances of "Symmetrical Soundscapes." In this way, the function of the *tama no ji* as a support for time keeping during improvised solos has been utilized in "Symmetrical Soundscapes."

Figure #2: *tama no ji* pattern played with *kizami*.

4.2.3 "Meguri" by Hiroshi Tanaka

Endo's usage of *Edo Bayashi* patterns have been emulated by his students, who have subsequently gone on to create their own ensembles. Hiroshi Tanaka, began playing taiko in the early 90s as a university student with Stanford Taiko, where numerous other future taiko performers first got their start. He is a prolific composer of many new *kumidaiko* style pieces and began composing early on during his time with Stanford Taiko. From 1997–2002 he lived in Hawaii and studied with Endo, where he also began to learn *Edo Bayashi*. In 2002 he moved to Mountain View, California, and founded the taiko group Jun Daiko along with four other former students of Endo. There he began composing the *kumidaiko* style piece "Meguri," which has been largely influenced by the music of *Edo Bayashi.*

While Endo has borrowed the three patterns from the *saki dama* section, Hiroshi Tanaka has borrowed numerous patterns that gives "Meguri" a much stronger *Edo Bayashi* sound to it

[76] An example of *kizami* during the *tama no ji* can be seen and heard (starting at 8:32) in this youtube recording of a performance by Wakayama Shachū during the *Sanja Matsuri* on May 19th, 2017. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=INrkEKsgpWA, accessed March 23rd, 2019)

than “Symmetrical Soundscapes.” Some of the more apparent influences are the uses of the *shinobue* melodies, *shime-daiko* patterns, and *kane* patterns from “Shichōme” during the intro of the piece. Furthermore, he emulates “Symmetrical Soundscapes” by using the *tama no ji* with *kizami* as a supporting timekeeper for soloing. However, “Meguri” did not take the form that it has today, until after he returned to Hawaii from 2009–2012. It was during this time that Hiroshi Tanaka refined “Meguri” to include several more *Edo Bayashi* elements.

What sets this piece apart from “Symmetrical Soundscapes” is the innovative performance techniques and instrumentation which makes “Meguri” a fundamentally *kumidaiko* style piece. This innovative change can most easily be observed by the application of *ato dama* patterns to a uniques style of playing two medium sized taiko by one performer (6:29–6:50). This can be seen as a combination of two popular performance styles of taiko: one taiko positioned in front of the performer and played vertically (referred to as *beta uchi*), and one taiko placed to the side of the performer and played diagonally (referred to as *naname uchi*). There are three drummers each with their own sets of two taiko. The *ato dama* pattern is played in unison by these three, while the *shime-daiko* players play the *tama no ji* with *kizami* (figure #2)

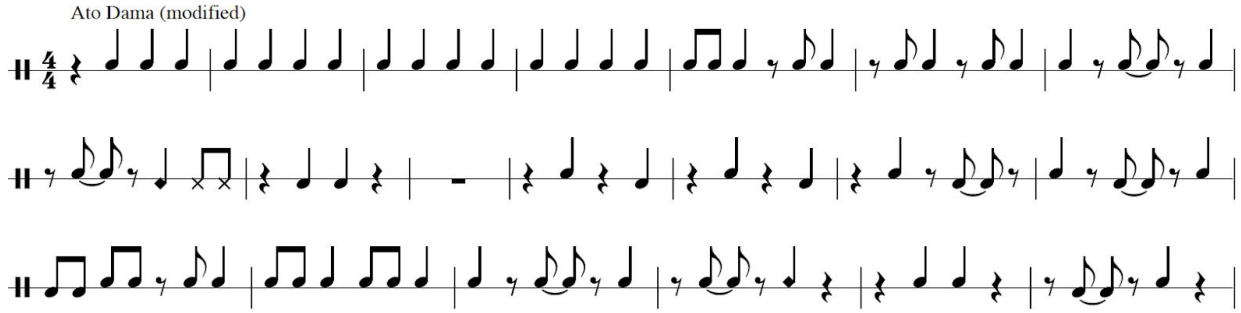


Figure #3: Transcription of a section of “Meguri” featuring the ato dama patterns

The top line of the taiko set indicates the *naname uchi*, while the bottom line indicates the *beta uchi.* Additionally, the  denotes the playing of the rim of the drum,  while ( ) denotes a press against the head. When compared to the *ato dama* played by the *waki* in "Shichōme," the patterns in "Meguri" generally adhere to the original patterns, although there are a few additional rhythms added.

4.3 Broader Implications of Borrowing from *Edo Bayashi*

The practice of borrowing performance practices or musical content is not in any way a new phenomenon. One could even argue that all new music creation is borrowing and expanding upon pre-existing material in some fashion. Indeed, many new *kumidaiko* compositions have largely borrowed performance practices from groups that popularized the art forms, which may be one reason for considering it to be a cohesive genre or style. Groups such as Ondekoza and Kodo have popularized their own adaptation of folk performance styles such as *yatai-bayashi* and *miyake daiko*, leading many groups worldwide to copy entire arrangements of these pieces on the premise that these "folk performing arts" have no ownership or that they belong to a shared heritage.

Unlike these examples of a more visually apparent practice of borrowing a performance style, the more subtle practice of musical borrowing exemplified by both "Symmetrical Soundscapes" and "Meguri" require knowledge of the pre-existing materials of the borrowed source for it to be recognizable. This practice of borrowing *Edo Bayashi* sounds and using them in *kumidaiko* compositions can be traced back to Sukeroku Taiko, with the most apparent

borrowing used in pieces such as "Matsuri Daiko" as discussed previously by scholars.[77] The borrowing of *Edo Bayashi* in these cases are unlike the borrowing of entire styles like *yatai-bayashi* or *miyake daiko* by other *kumidaiko* groups, because the actual practice of quoting *Edo Bayashi* may be viewed as a characteristic of Sukeroku Taiko-style.

While Sukeroku Taiko may have initially borrowed from *Edo Bayashi* to give a certain *Edomae* aesthetic and strong *Edokko* identity to their compositions, the borrowing from *Edo Bayashi* in both "Symmetrical Soundscapes" and "Meguri" may have less to do with the aesthetics and identity of "Edo" and more to do with evoking a continuity from Sukeroku Taiko as way to lend credence to the piece by placing it within a historical timeline. Thus, what may be lending to the traditional authenticity of these two pieces may not be attributed exclusively through its connection to *Edo Bayashi*, but also through its *kumidaiko* connections with Sukeroku Taiko as one of the pioneers of the style, with the musical borrowing of *Edo Bayashi* as the actual tradition that is being maintained. In this way, the importance is placed on the connections that have been established through the "*Shitamachi* network" and not exclusively on the practice of borrowing musical content from "more traditional" sources.

[77] See Pachter (2013: 123) for an analysis of "Matsuri Daiko" showing *Edo Bayashi* influence.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In the midst of a rapidly changing global landscape, new forms of performing arts continue to emerge and adapt to these shifting contexts. Often times these contexts are already inhabited by older and more traditional performing arts, which must also find ways to adapt and fit the evolving needs of modern society to ensure its continuity. In these contexts, the intersections between old and new performing arts are relatively common and readily observed. This is especially common for cultural performing arts, in which newly invented performing art styles adopt traditional performing arts practices to create a stronger sense of authenticity for the culture it has come to represent. However, it is also possible that the cultural associations with these performing arts may also subside as its performance context expands to a global stage, increasing the cultural diversity of its practitioners. In this process, the value placed on concepts of "tradition" and "cultural authenticity" within these new performing arts can vary greatly for the individual practitioner. Some practitioners place great importance on these concepts, as these performing arts may be a way to express cultural identity or heritage pride. On the other hand, some practitioners may not identify with the culture it has historically been associated with, or may feel that these concepts can restrict the creative potential of the art form.

The scenario portrayed above has been informed by the examination of the intercultural history of the broad genre of taiko, however it may be defined. The global proliferation of taiko performance is arguably the direct result of the emergence of the performance style of *kumidaiko* in the latter half of the twentieth century. Prior to the innovation of *kumidaiko*, Japanese drum

performances were largely limited to the classical genres of *hōgaku-hayashi* and various regional *minzoku geinō* genres such as *matsuri-bayashi*. These styles of drumming were relatively inaccessible to the general public, as they may have required conditions such as: extensive training, financial commitment, and hereditary or local connections to the practice. Meanwhile, religious usages of the taiko were for the sake of ritual and not intended to be musical performances, often making the playing of taiko outside of ritual purposes to be taboo.

However, the development of *kumidaiko* opened the path for the performance of the taiko as a musical artform, which allowed the freedom of innovation and creative expression. Up until this point in time, the musical performances of Japanese drums primarily served as an accompaniment for some other performance or ritual. *Kumidaiko* made the drumming the lead role of a performance and placed it on a stage for the sake of entertainment. This innovation was pioneered by the jazz drummer Oguchi Daihachi in the 1950s, who combined the various sounds of many different taiko and arranged them to create musical performances that had been strongly influenced by western performance aesthetics. Nonetheless, Sukeroku Taiko was the first to succeed at becoming a professional *kumidaiko* group, setting the precedent for subsequent professional *kumidaiko* groups such as Ondekoza and Kodo.

While it would be difficult to assess which individual or group has had the largest impact on taiko as a whole, the uniqueness of Sukeroku Taiko lies in the origin of its development within the urban *Shitamachi* of Tokyo. Emerging from the performance of *bon daiko* in the *Shitamachi* during the postwar period, the original four members of Sukeroku Taiko were brought together with the intent of creating a new form of entertainment using Japanese instruments. They began studying *hōgaku-hayashi* in order to develop their technique and aid in

the innovation of their style. Through the connections made by their studies of *hōgaku-hayashi*, they were also exposed to other performing arts such as *Edo Bayashi*. The members of Sukeroku Taiko solidified this *Shitamachi* network by studying various performing arts and incorporating it into their style which synthesized folk, classical, and contemporary styles. Furthermore, they expanded this network of connections to the United States through their assistance of the San Francisco Taiko Dojo, which impacted the development of *kumidaiko* in the United States and established a gateway for the future transmission of *Edo Bayashi*. While many other groups developed from rural areas and had been dominantly influenced by *minzoku geinō* drumming styles, Sukeroku Taiko was unique due to its influences from the classical drumming of *hōgaku-hayashi*.

The same may also be said for *Edo Bayashi,* which is considered to be a genre of *minzoku geinō* due to its origin, yet possesses many qualities of other *hōgaku* genres. *Edo Bayashi*, as a style of *matsuri-bayashi* in Tokyo, has been innovated and proliferated as part of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory played by the Wakayama Shachū. The *Wakayama Ryū* traces its origins back several generations through its lineage of *Edo Sato Kagura* performers, which give them the credentials as professional performing artists. The designation of *Edo Sato Kagura* groups as "Intangible Folk Cultural Property" by government organizations has enabled Wakayama Shachū to promote *Edo Bayashi* as a representative model of "tradition" for *matsuri-bayashi* by virtue of association with their performance of *Edo Sato Kagura*. Furthermore, the "secularization" of *matsuri-bayashi* for concert performance by government organizations stimulated musical changes for exaggerated stage performances, unlike its traditional role as musical accompaniment. This trend towards professionalism favored the professionals over the

amateur *matsuri-bayashi* musicians, and enabled the music to become entertainment art much like *hōgaku*.

In addition to the qualities of professionalism that liken *Edo Bayashi* with *hōgaku genres*, the adoption of *hōgaku* practices in the *Wakayama Ryū,* such as the *iemoto* system, bolster these associations. Furthermore, the *iemoto* of the *Wakayama Ryū*, Wakayama Taneo, is also a professional *shinobue* performer in the *hōgaku* genre of *nagauta.* This has resulted in musical cross-fertilization between these performing arts. Additionally, it firmly places it within the network of musical professionals in other *hōgaku* genres, providing *Edo Bayashi* with a greater affinity with *hōgaku* by virtue of its associations.

These musical qualities and connections with *hōgaku* genres that are possessed by both Sukeroku Taiko's *kumidaiko* style and Wakayama Shachū's *Edo Bayashi* play a vital role in the proliferation of these artforms. The *Shitamachi* network enabled subsequent individuals such as Kenny Endo to go to Japan and study all three of these styles. While his initial intent was to study *hōgaku-hayashi* with Ishizuka Yutaka and *kumidaiko* with Kobayashi Seidō, a chance encounter with a concert performance of *Edo Bayashi* piqued his interest in the study of this music. Furthermore, Ishizuka's connections members of the Wakayama Shachū through his own study of the music allowed for Endo's studies of *Edo Bayashi*. Endo subsequently brought the practice of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States in 1990, where he taught it to his students. Additionally, he has also invited Wakayama Shachū members such as Suzuki Kyosuke to teach and perform, building momentum for its transmission.

Over the course of this thesis, I have attempted to construct an intercultural history of *Edo Bayashi* by examining the individual histories of *Edo Bayashi* and Sukeroku Taiko, as well

as the historical relationships between members of Sukeroku Taiko, Wakayama Shachū, and their close associates. These efforts were made with the goal of presenting how these histories continue to impact both the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* and the creation of new taiko compositions. This has been done by transcribing the piece "Shichōme" and examining the borrowing of its musical content in the taiko compositions "Symmetrical Soundscapes" by Kenny Endo and "Meguri" by Hiroshi Tanaka. The compositional practice of borrowing musical content to add "traditional" elements to newly created compositions is not new in the world of music. However, I have additionally investigated the possibilities of reciprocal influences between the creation of these taiko compositions and the transmission of *Edo Bayashi* to the United States. These musical examples are only a small sample of the new taiko compositions that have borrowed from other parts of the *Wakayama Ryū* repertory.

As the proliferation of *Edo Bayashi* gains momentum in the United States through the continued efforts of individuals such as Suzuki and Hunter-Ishikawa, it seems likely that new taiko compositions modeled after Endo's compositional practices will continue to be created in the future. Yet, much like the creation of new taiko compositions, the scholarship of taiko emerges from its practitioners and their contexts, and will also continue to develop as the genre itself evolves. In turn, the scholarship will impact the discourses among the practitioners and may also shape the evolution of the genre. In this way, it is possible that the overall value placed in the concepts of Japanese traditional and cultural authenticities in taiko may increase or decrease over time. Additionally, the concepts of tradition and cultural authenticity may also change in their meanings as impacted by other scholarship and discourses.

Another hypothesis would be that: at some point in the future, new taiko genres such as

kumidaiko will have enjoyed enough longevity to be thought of as traditional once again. In this case, tradition would not require being rooted in a time period prior to modernity, and new traditions can still be created through maintaining the practice over a period of time. This may be considerably easier for those who conceptualize tradition as an orthodox reproduction, as numerous new recording technologies have facilitated preservation. Whatever the far future may present, it seems likely that the discourses of tradition and cultural authenticity will persist and continue to shape the performance of taiko for the time being.

Appendices

Appendix A: Transcriptions

Appendix A1: “Shichōme”

Appendix A2: “Symmetrical Soundscapes” – Excerpt

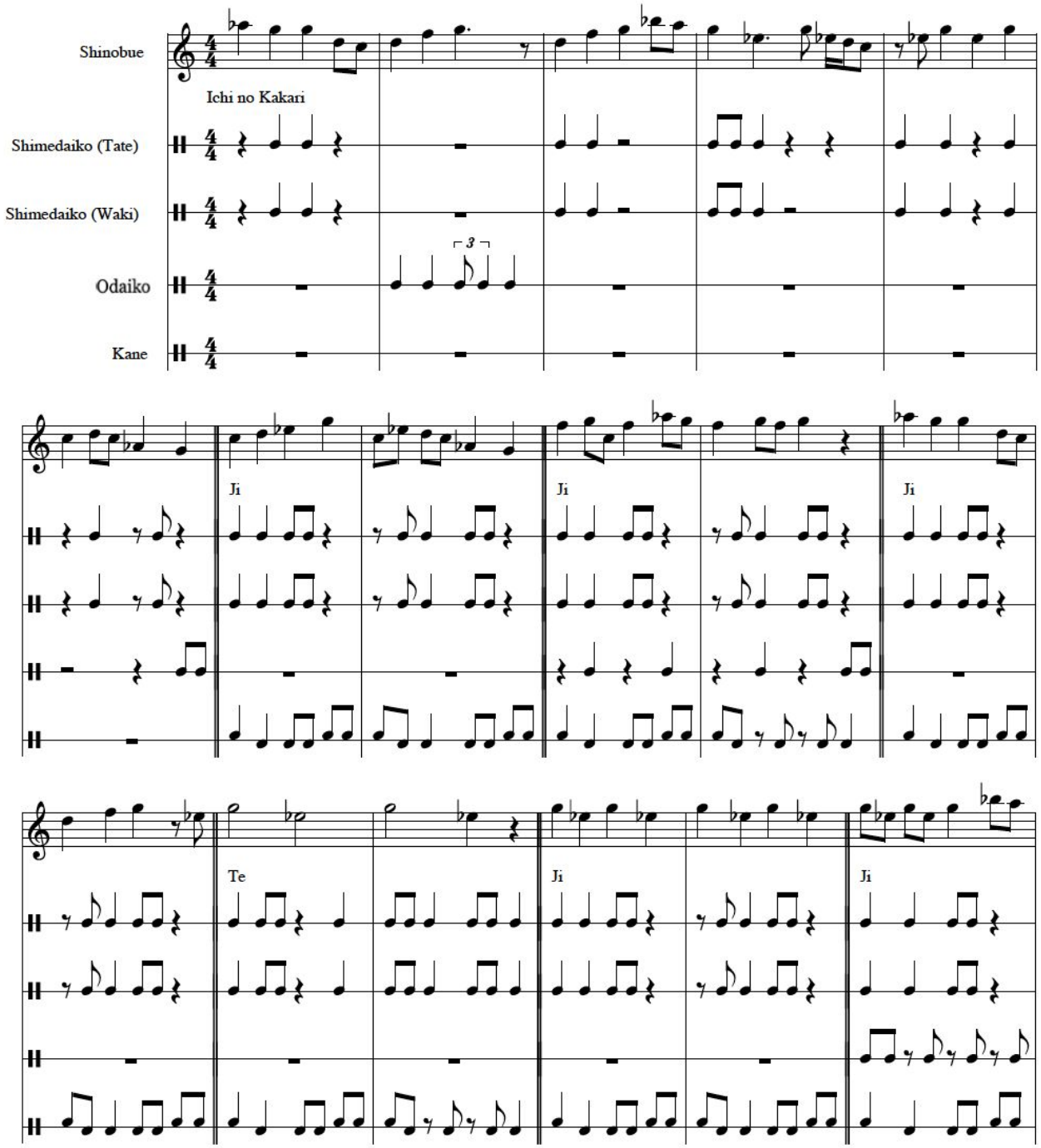
Appendix A3: “Meguri” – Excerpt

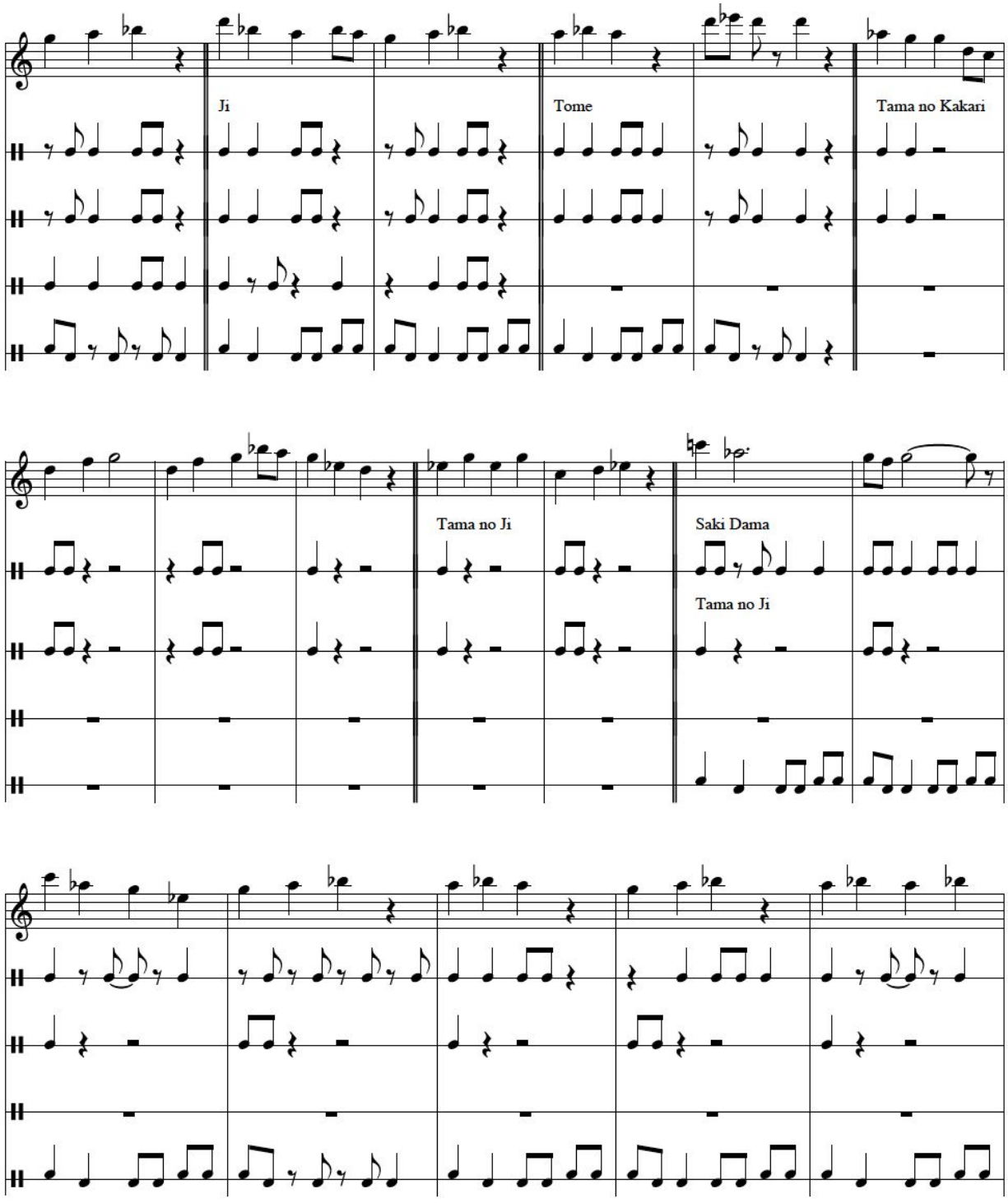
Appendix B: Glossary of Japanese Terms

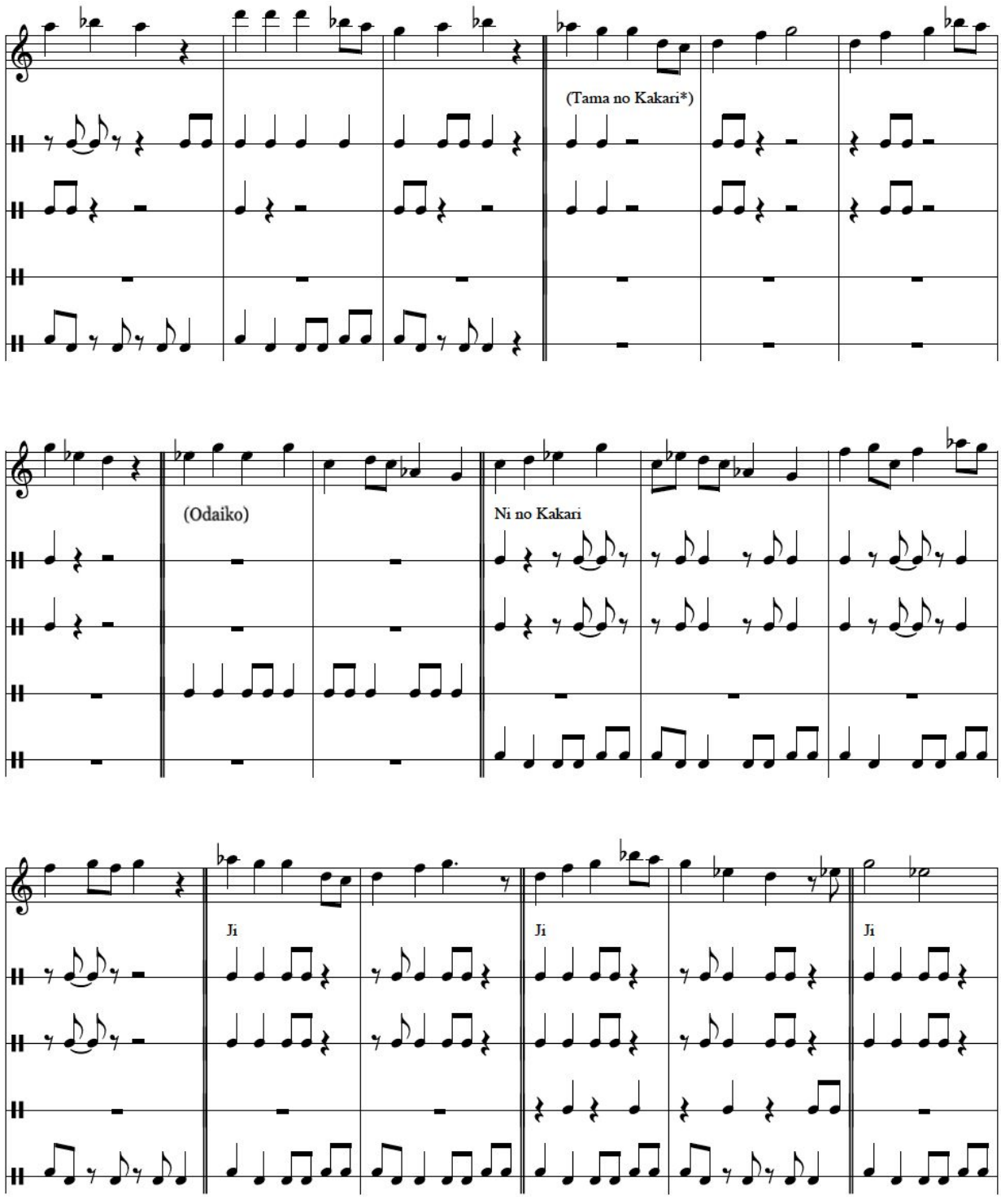
Appendix C: Institutional Review Board Form

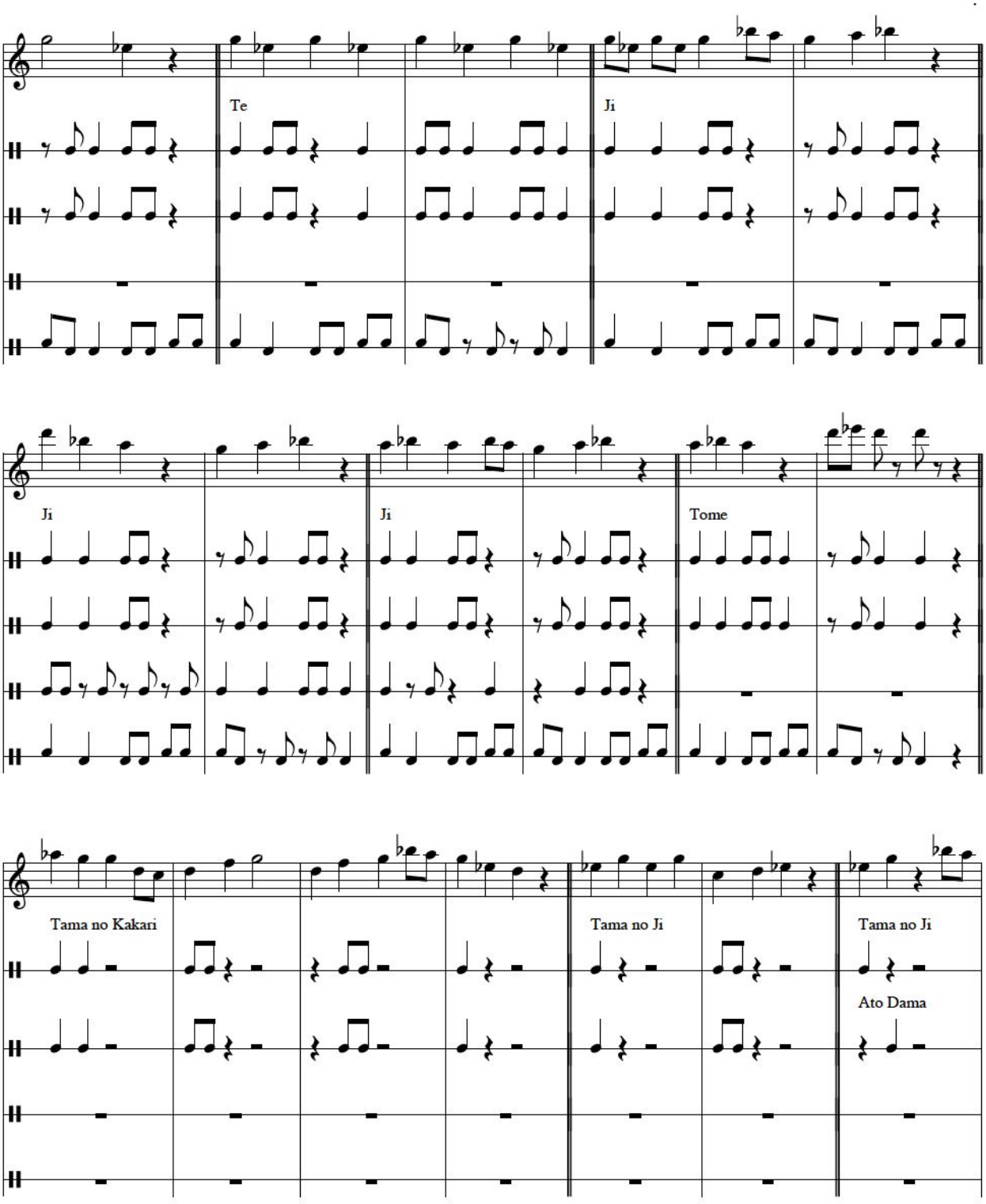
Appendix A1: "Shichōme"

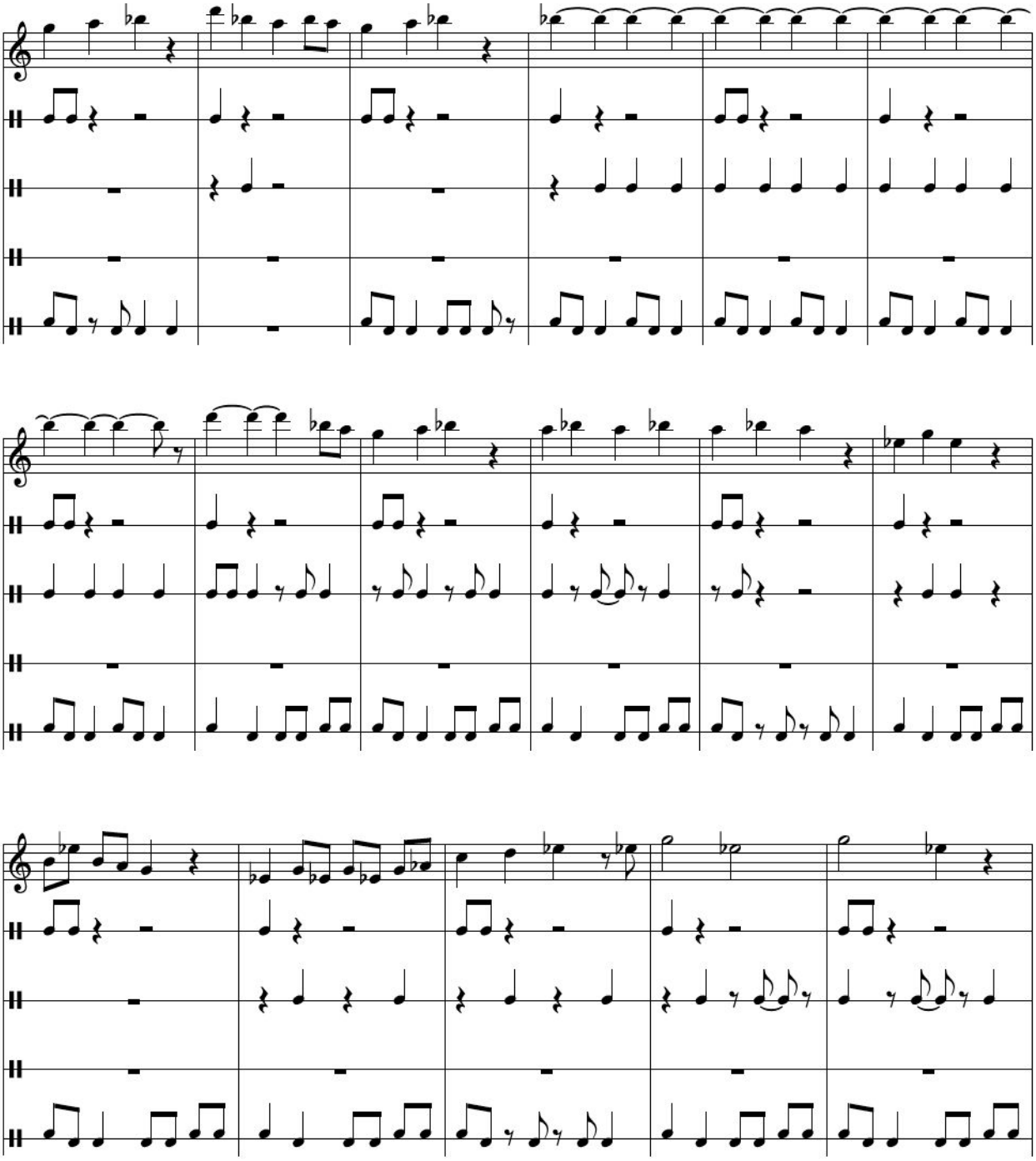
Source:		Performed by:
Album:	*Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi (Disc One)* (1994)	Wakayama Taneo Shachū
Track:	No. 4	
Time:	0:15–2:40	

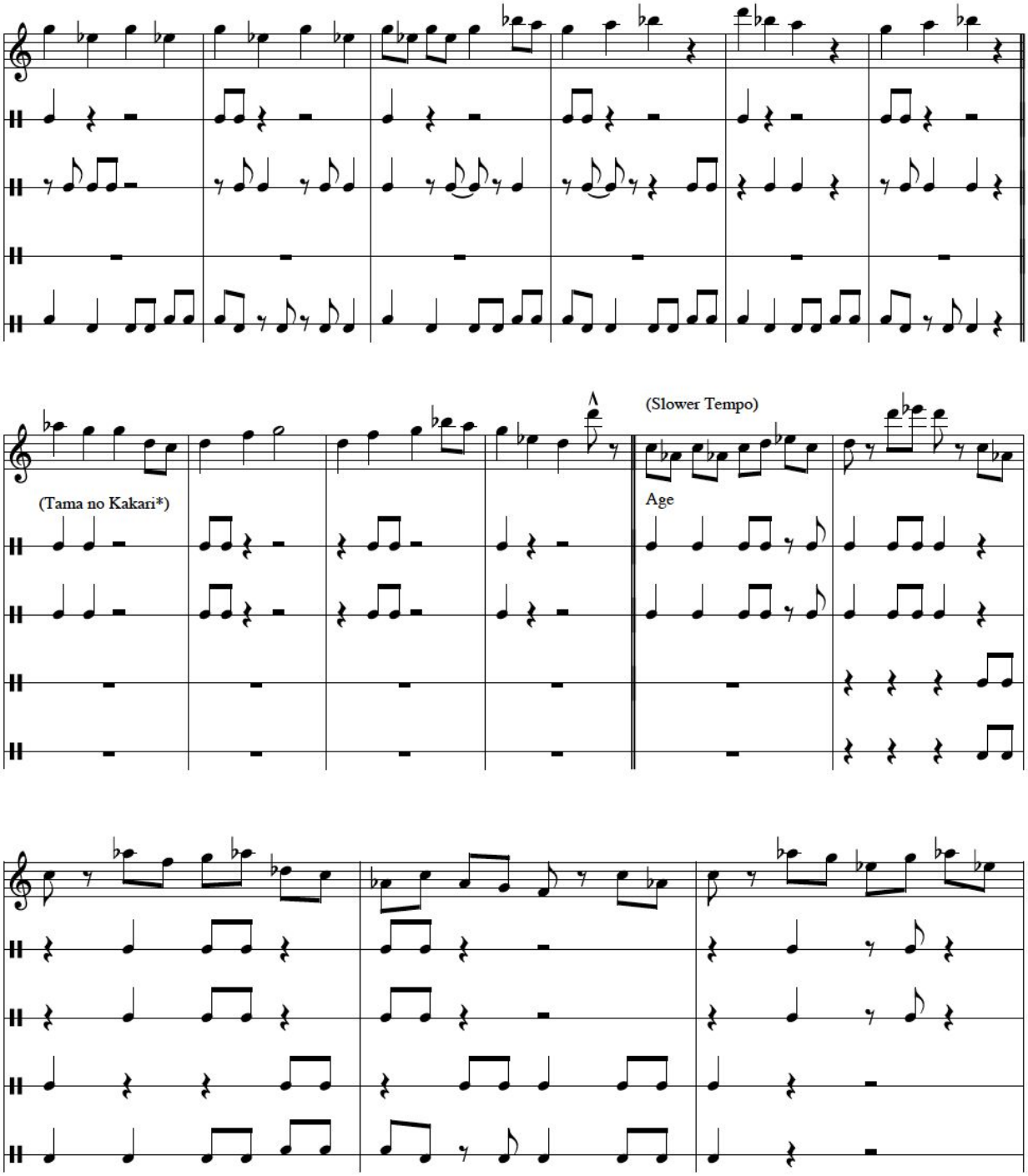


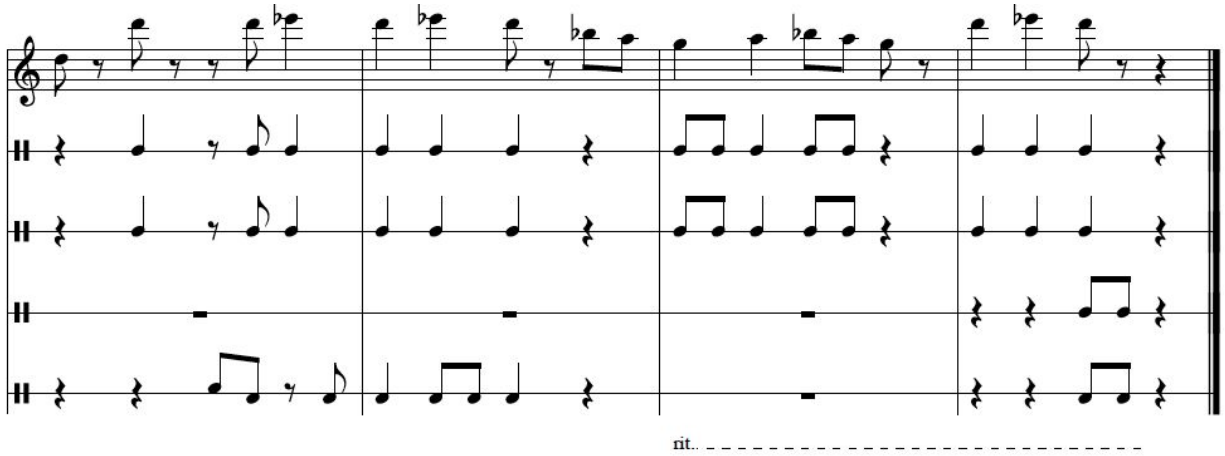

Ji
Tome
Tama no Kakari
Tama no Ji
Saki Dama
Tama no Ji


(Tama no Kakari*)
(Odaiko)
Ni no Kakari
Ji
Ji
Ji


Te
Ji
Ji
Ji
Tome
Tama no Kakari
Tama no Ji
Tama no Ji
Ato Dama




(Slower Tempo)
(Tama no Kakari*)
Age



Transcription Notes:

1. Although included in the audio track, this transcription does not include the introductory *Jō* section (0:00–0:15) as it may also be considered a continuation of the end of the previous piece "Kamakura."

2. Due to the focus of this thesis on the rhythmic patterns, the transcribed *shinobue* melody is an approximation of the pitches performed, and has been notated in the nearest pitch of the Western chromatic scale. In actuality, the starting pitch of the *shinobue* being played is between Bb and B, and the scale that it plays does not conform to Western twelve-tone equal temperament.

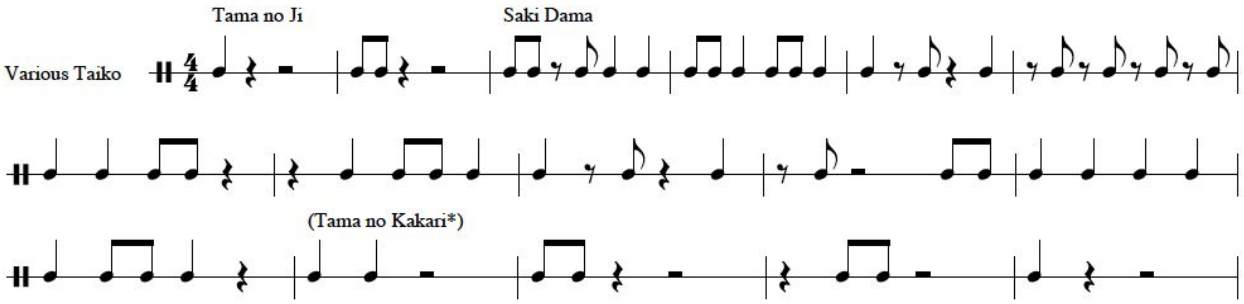
3. The tempo of this piece fluctuates to a great degree. However, beginning with the *Ichi no Kakari* section (0:15) and up until the start of the *Age* section (2:22), the tempo gradually increases from ~85 bpm to ~225 bpm. The *Age* section is a sudden tempo change to ~125 bpm, which continues until the final *ritardando*.

4. The *kane* is the only percussion instrument that plays two different sounds. The note above the line is a higher sound made by muting the instrument with the hand holding the instrument while striking its side. The note below the line is a lower sound played by striking the center while not muting the instrument with the hand.

Appendix A2: "Symmetrical Soundscapes"

(Excerpt)

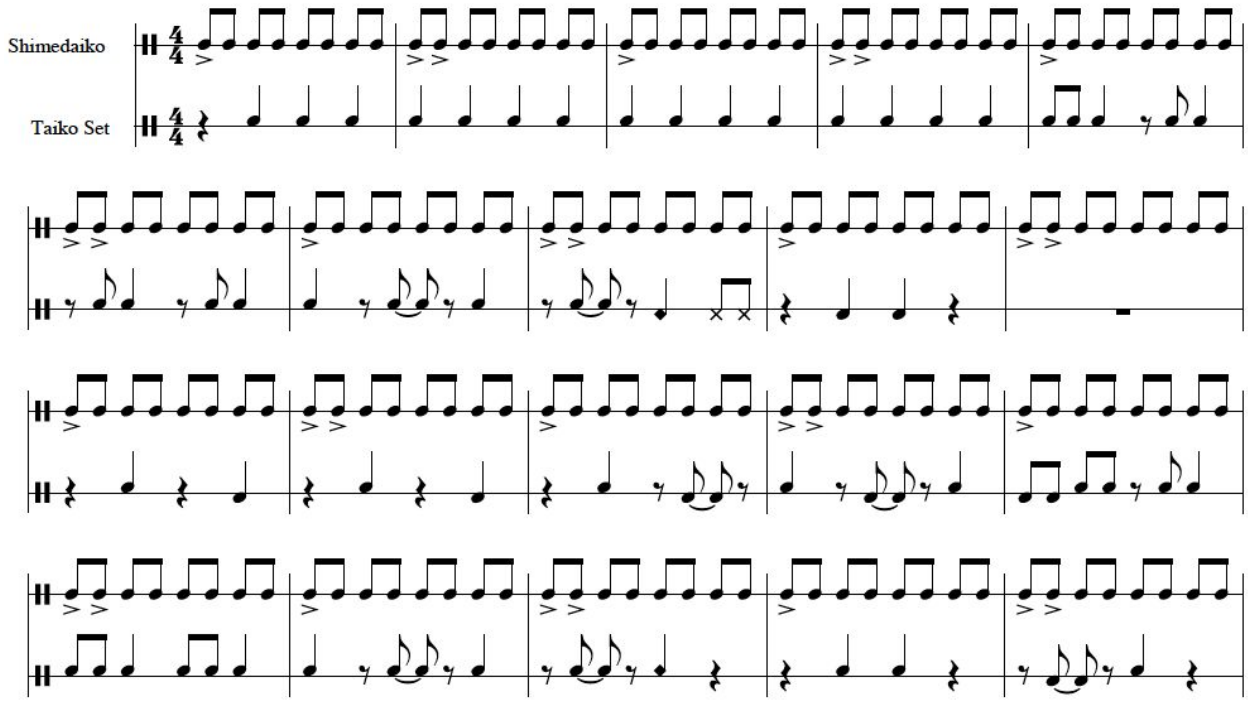
Source:		Performed by:
Album:	*Eternal Energy* (1994)	Kenny Endo
Track:	No. 3	Yoshinori Noumi
Time:	4:34–4:47	



Appendix A3: “Meguri”

(Excerpt)

Source:		Performed by:
YouTube Video:	“‘Meguri’ by Hiroshi Tanaka”	Kenny Endo Taiko Ensemble
Performance Date:	October 10th, 2015	
Published:	December 5th, 2015	
Link:	(https://youtu.be/G8nOz23RcJ4)	
Time:	6:29–6:50	



Note Head Markings:

( ) – Striking of the rim of the drum

( ) – Muted press on the surface of the drum

Note above line – higher pitch taiko struck diagonally (*naname uchi*)

Note below line – lower pitch taiko struck vertically (*beta uchi*)

Appendix B: Glossary of Japanese Terms and Names

(Alphabetical Order of Romanization)

Romanization	Japanese	Translation/Description	First Appearance
Bon (Obon)	盆（お盆）	A Buddhist celebration held in late summer to celebrate the return of the deceased spirits to their homes, and is also one of the most widely celebrated festivals across Japan	pg. 50
bon odori	盆踊り	A popular communal dancing event held during *Bon*	pg.50
bon daiko	盆太鼓	A style of taiko performance to accompany *bon odori* which became the stylistic foundation for Sukeroku Taiko	pg.51
dentō geinō	伝統芸能	Traditional performing arts	pg.19
Edo Bayashi	江戸囃子	For this thesis, a shorthand for *Wakayama Ryū Edo Bayashi.* May also refer to other *matsuri bayashi* of the *Shitamachi* area.	pg.2
edokko	江戸っ子	A localized identity that is said to be rooted in the *shitamachi* area of Tokyo	pg.26
Edomae	江戸前	An aesthetic quality of urban refinement unique to Edo	pg.44
mikoshi	神輿	A portable shrine that temporarily houses a Shinto deity during festival times, which are carried on the shoulders of the festival participants around town	pg.27
Edo matsuri-bayashi	江戸祭囃子	A generic term for all *matsuri-bayashi* in Tokyo	
Edo sato kagura	江戸里神楽	a form of folk theater in which mimed dramas are performed by masked dancer-actors and accompanied by small musical ensembles	pg.12
hayashi	囃子	A general term for a percussion ensemble which may also include a melodic instrument	pg.1
hikyoku	秘曲	Secret pieces	pg.29
hōgaku	邦楽	Japanese term to refer to music created within Japan. Also frequently used as a shorthand for *kinsei hōgaku.*	pg.20

hōgaku-hayashi	邦楽囃子	Percussion and flute ensembles (and the music they play), often provide accompaniment to other performing arts such as *kabuki, bunraku, nihon buyō,* and *nagauta*	pg.52
iemoto	家元	Headmaster of a Japanese school of performing arts	pg.29
iemoto seido	家元制度	A hierarchical system of transmission overseen by the *iemoto*	pg.34
jun hōgaku	純邦楽	A term meaning "pure Japanese music" sometimes used to clarify to mean music created before western influence	pg.21
kabuki	歌舞伎	A genre of popular classical theater	pg.1
kagura	神楽	Generic term for a broad genre of Shinto theatrical dance and music	pg.29
kihon kyoku	基本曲	Basic pieces, usually within a set repertoire	pg.29
kinsei hōgaku	近世邦楽	"Early modern period Japanese music" generally refers to music created during the Edo period (1603–1868)	pg.21
koten geinō	古典芸能	A term sometimes used by Japanese scholars often translated into "classical performing arts"	pg.20
Kotobuki jishi	寿獅子	Celebratory Lion Dance	pg.22
kumidaiko	組太鼓	A modern style of Japanese ensemble drumming	pg.2
kyōdo geinō	郷土芸能	An outdated term used by Japanese scholars to describe folk performing arts, translated into "regional performing arts"	pg.19
matsuri	祭	Shinto festivals	pg.1
matsuri-bayashi	祭囃子	Music played to accompany *matsuri* events	pg.1
mikagura		*kagura* of the imperial household	pg.29
minzoku geijutsu	民族芸術	An outdated term used by Japanese scholars, translated into "folk arts"	pg.19
minzoku geinō	民族芸能	Contemporary term for "folk performing arts"	pg.19
minzoku ongaku	民族音楽	Folk music	pg.22
nageai (mikoshi bayashi)	投げ合い（神輿囃子）	Music that is repeated for the purpose of accompanying a *mikoshi* being carried	pg.29
natori	名取	The license to teach in a school of	pg.35

		performing art, often in the form of receiving a stage name from a teacher	
nihonjin-ron	日本人論	“theories/discussions about the Japanese” literary genre that discusses the uniqueness of Japan	pg.4
ryū (ryūha)	流（流派）	School, style, lineage	pg.34
Sanja Matsuri	三社祭	Annual festival in the Asakusa district of Tokyo, usually takes place over the third weekend in May	pg.1
shin-furusato	新ふるさと		
shinobue	篠笛	Japanese tranverse bamboo flute	pg.32
shitamachi	下町	“Downtown” area of Tokyo, said to host a more traditional lifestyle	pg.26
torii	鳥居	Gates found at the entrance to a Shinto shrine which marks a symbolic barrier between the sacred and the mundane worlds	pg.37
wadaiko	和太鼓	Japanese term for Japanese drums/drumming	pg.15
yagura	櫓	A raised platform which acts as a stage for musicians to provide accompaniment for the dancers encircling below	pg.50
yatai	屋台	Carts that are paraded during a matsuri, often with musicians and or their instruments being carried	pg.37
yōgaku	洋楽	Western music	pg.20
Yamanote	山の手	“Foothills” or the western side of Tokyo historically inhabited by aristocrats and samurai	pg.46

Appendix C: Institutional Review Board Approval For Human Research

UNIVERSITY of HAWAI'I® SYSTEM

Office of Research Compliance
Human Studies Program

TO:	Trimillos, Ricardo, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Asian Studies Program Shibata, Sean, BM, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Music
FROM:	Rivera, Victoria, Dir, Ofc of Rsch Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt
PROTOCOL TITLE:	Wakayama Ryu Edo Bayashi: Cultural Authenticity and Diasporic Identity
FUNDING SOURCE:	
PROTOCOL NUMBER:	2019-00071
	Approval Date: February 07, 2019 Expiration Date: December 31, 2999

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On February 07, 2019, the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 2, 4.

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at the OHRP Website www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.html.

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via the UH eProtocol application. The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

1960 East-West Road
Biomedical Sciences Building B104
Honolulu, Hawai'I 96822
Telephone: (808) 956-5007
Fax: (808) 956-8683

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